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HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

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THE MOST REV. PATRICK J. HAYES, D.D.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THE MOST REV. PATRICK J. HAYES, D.D.

By T. J. Riordan.

The members of the United States Catholic Historical Society had a special pleasure in the announcement on February 26, 1919, that the Holy See had chosen as the successor of the lamented Cardinal Farley for the Archbishopric of New York, their associate member, the Right Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, Auxiliary Bishop of the See. His Grace has been a member of the Society since 1908, and always has been most zealous in promoting its aims and activities. As is detailed in another part of this volume he gave practical evidence of this by presiding at the general meeting on February 24, and almost immediately after the receipt of the information of his elevation to the archbishopric he accepted the office of Honorary President of the Society.

The new Archbishop was born November 20, 1867, the son of Daniel and Mary Gleason Hayes, in City Hall Place, New York. When he was old enough to go to school he was sent to the parochial school of the Transfiguration parish, and then to the old De La Salle Institute, the Christian Brothers' Academy in Second street. He was graduated from De La Salle in 1886, and continued his studies at Manhattan College, graduating in 1888. It is an interesting incident to find that Archbishop Dowling of St. Paul, Minnesota, who is also a member of the Society, was graduated from Manhattan in the class of 1887, and Archbishop Mundelein of Chicago with the class of 1889.

Archbishop Hayes made his theological studies at St

Joseph's Seminary, Troy, and was ordained priest on September 8, 1892. For two years following his ordination he pursued special theological studies at the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C. In June, 1894, he was made assistant at St. Gabriel's Church in East Thirty-seventh street, of which the late Cardinal Farley, then Vicar-General of the diocese, was rector. The year following Mgr. Farley became Auxiliary Bishop, and Father Hayes was named as his secretary. Again, in 1902 when Bishop Farley became Archbishop he kept Father Hayes as his secretary. The following year, 1903, Father Hayes was appointed Chancellor of the Archdiocese, and in the same year he organized Cathedral College, the preparatory seminary, and was made its first president, still retaining his position as Chancellor. That year he received his first official recognition from Rome, when he was made a Doctor of Divinity. In 1907 Dr. Hayes was appointed Domestic Prelate by His Holiness Pope Pius X, which was followed by his nomination as Auxiliary Bishop of New York on June 1, 1914, by Pope Pius, while the Monsignor was in Rome with Cardinal Farley.

Cardinal Farley and Bishop-elect Hayes were in Brunnen, Switzerland, when Pope Pius X died on August 20, 1914. The Cardinal, Bishop-elect Hayes, Monsignor Edwards and Monsignor Carroll went at once to Rome and were present at the obsequies of Pope Pius and the conclave, election and coronation of Pope Benedict XV.

The Cardinal and Bishop-elect arrived in New York on September 28, and were given an enthusiastic reception. On October 28, 1914, the consecration of Bishop Hayes as Auxiliary Bishop of New York and Titular Bishop of Tagaste took place at St. Patrick's Cathedral, in the presence of twenty-two Archbishops and Bishops, fifty Monsignori, 500 priests, and 5,000 of the laity. His Eminence Cardinal Farley was the consecrating prelate, and the Right Rev. Monsignor

Joseph F. Mooney was the preacher. The Rev. Thomas A. Thornton in behalf of the clergy delivered an address to the newly consecrated Bishop, to which Bishop Hayes in his response said: "Gratitude most filial and affectionate to the revered Metropolitan of New York, our beloved Cardinal Archbishop, who, as father and friend for twenty years, has guided my footsteps, formed and fashioned my priestly career, and whose hands, be it my joy forevermore, poured out on my head this hour the oil of Holy Unction."

Shortly after his consecration Bishop Hayes retired from the Chancellorship of the Archdiocese and the presidency of Cathedral College, and in July, 1915, he was made permanent rector of St. Stephen's Church in East Twenty-eighth street, succeeding the Right Rev. Bishop Cusack, who was transferred to the Bishopric of Albany.

On November 29, 1917, Bishop Hayes was appointed by the Holy See to be Bishop Ordinary of the Armed Forces of the United States, and in that capacity supervised the work of the Catholic chaplains in the army and navy, and visited a great many of the camps in this country. As Military Bishop of the United States, through the co-operation of the American Hierarchy, he secured 900 priests to serve as chaplains, commissioned and non-commissioned, both here and in Europe. His diocese was not only the entire United States, but also included every portion of the globe where there were American Catholic chaplains, soldiers or sailors. In addition he also took an active part in every patriotic enterprise that was organized to win the war. He was one of the four Bishops who composed the Executive Committee of the Catholic War Council, representing the American Hierarchy in control of all Catholic war activities, and as the delegate for Cardinal Farley, was the inspiration and director of the Knights of Columbus drive for war funds held in New York, which realized nearly $5,000,000. He was also one of the directors of

the United War Work Drive for $170,500,000, and was one of the four Bishops who drew up the remarkable program of social reconstruction which the Catholic War Council announced in February, 1919. In this program were agitated the most advanced and consistent social reforms that have ever been urged by any Catholic body.

By a special dispensation from the Pope the installation of Archbishop Hayes took place at St. Patrick's Cathedral, on March 19, without waiting for the arrival of the formal Papal brief of appointment. The Apostolic Delegate, the Most Rev. John Bonzano, officiated as the installing prelate. The Right Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney welcomed the Archbishop in the name of the clergy, the Very Rev. George J. Waring, U. S. A., performed the same function for the army and navy chaplains, and Justice Victor J. Dowling made an address in behalf of the laity. To these Archbishop Hayes responded with an expression of appreciation of the responsibilities to which he had been called, and with an appeal for the instilling of the spirit of God and of Christ into the momentous affairs of the world today.

The Archdiocese over which Archbishop Hayes will rule is one of the largest in the world. The Province of New York, of which he is Metropolitan, includes the Dioceses of Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Newark, Ogdensburg, Rochester, Syracuse and Trenton. The Archdiocese of New York numbers 388 churches, 1,117 priests, and has a Catholic population of 1,325,000.

THE CHURCH IN THE ISLAND OF SAN DOMINGO

By Peter Condon, A. M.

PART II

We have mentioned November 16, 1504, as the date of the beginning of the hierarchy in America. On this date, at the solicitation of the Spanish sovereigns, Pope Julius II signed the Bull, *Illius fulcite praesidio,* which authorized the erection of one metropolitan and two suffragan sees in three specified districts on the Island of Hispaniola, viz: the Metropolitan See of Ayguacense and as suffragans, Maguscense and Bayunense (Baynos) and by Brief of same date he nominated Don Francisco Garcia de Padilla as the first incumbent of the See of Baynos, which included the City of San Domingo. Unfortunately, however, Queen Isabella was then in her last illness and died ten days later, and Ferdinand, whose solicitude for religion was not equal to that of his deceased consort, was prevailed on by selfish and envious persons, both lay and clerical, to oppose the expediting of the Bull for the erection of these sees on the plea that the business had been unduly hastened and that such nomination of the bishops by the Holy See constituted an infringement upon the rights and prerogatives claimed to belong to the Crown by virtue of the famous Bull of Alexander VI, of May 2, 1494. This document, sometimes called the "Bull of Partition," was supplemented by another dated May 4, 1494. Together they fixed the line of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries and by consent of both nations and according to the recognized custom of the times awarded to them the rights of sovereignty and ecclesiastical privileges over the territories discovered by each.

For over four years the matter remained in abeyance between Rome and Seville, and it was not until July, 1508, that a new Bull was issued by the same Pontiff conceding to the King and the Infanta Donna Juana, the daughter of Isabella, their heirs and successors the right of patronage and presentation to the three sees above described as well as to such others as might later be erected on any of the islands coming under the sovereignty of Spain.

But the treatment of the Indians by the early Spanish adventurers was already known, and reports had reached the Spanish court of the rapid depopulation of the territory of some of these sees. This resulted in part from the death of many of the Indians in consequence of the severe labors in the mines imposed on them, and in part from the flight of the survivors to the mountains to escape the cruelties practiced by the colonists.

Columbus had returned to Spain, having completed the last of his four voyages, and the story of the ill-treatment which he had received from various officials and of the failure of these officials to protect the Indians against their cruel masters and their intrigues to obtain wealth and political preferment were known both in Spain and at Rome, and may explain why three years more elapsed without the incumbents of these sees leaving Spain, or receiving episcopal consecration, or without any action being taken to fill the vacant sees.

In the meantime a considerable number of clergy had arrived. It is recorded that twelve priests came over with Bernardo Buil, the Prefect Apostolic, some of them seculars as well as some members of the Order known as the Order of the Hermits of St. Jerome, otherwise called "Jeronymites," some Franciscans and some members of his own Benedictine Order. In 1503 when the new Governor, Ovando, came from Spain, he brought with him a band of twelve Franciscans with their superior, who proceeded to build a convent of their Order. This was the first monastic institution erected by any of the religious Orders. Its

ruins are still to be seen. In 1510 a company of Dominicans arrived under the direction of their superior, the Rev. P. de Corduc. Two years later, in the City of San Domingo, they erected their church and convent of the Holy Cross, which became the headquarters of the new Province of the Order established in 1530, and from whence missionaries set out for Mexico, Grenada, Peru, Chili and other places in South America, where Dominican houses were subsequently established.

New colonists, attracted by the stories of unlimited gold and silver to be found, were coming over in large numbers. These newcomers were, if anything, more reckless and oppressive than their predecessors in their treatment of the Indians, who were kept at work in the mines under the system known as *Repartimientos*. Altogether conditions in the colony seemed to require that the settlement of its ecclesiastical government should not be further postponed. Thereupon a memorial from the King and his Council was sent to Rome and, in response, Pope Julius II issued the Bull *Romanus Pontifex,* dated August 8, 1511. By this Bull the Pope suppressed the three sees first created and replaced them by three others, viz: (1) Santo Domingo, (2) La Concepcion de la Vega, both in Hispaniola, as the island was called, and (3), that of San Juan, in Porto Rico, all of which were declared to be suffragans of the See of Seville.

Again the Franciscan Don Garcia de Padilla was one of those nominated and was assigned to the See of Santo Domingo, and Don Pedro Suarez de Deza, a nephew of the Archbishop of Seville, was appointed for La Concepcion. The bishops-elect having received the Briefs of their appointment, met at Burgos, where the Court was assembled, and on May 8, 1512, an agreement between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, known as the "Capitulation" or "Ordinances," was signed relating not alone to the administration of the new dioceses in spiritual matters, but including various questions relative to tithes, rents, ecclesiastical dues, the products of the mines and other sources of reve-

nue which were to be shared in specified proportions between the Crown and the Church.

At the same time the bishops and royal councillors conferred respecting the erection of the Cathedral Churches to which they had been authorized by the Holy See and the appointment of the officials and dignitaries who were to be attached to them.

On September 26, 1512, at the Archbishop's palace in Seville, the erection of a Cathedral Church in the new Diocese of Santo Domingo was officially determined on. Long before this other churches had been erected, doubtless of rude construction, among which may be named those of San Miguel, San Antonio and San Nicolas. Two years before a body of master builders had been chosen, with Alfonso Rodrigue at their head, to go to Hispaniola to build such churches and other public buildings as might be necessary. The building of the Cathedral in San Domingo was actually begun in 1514, but was not completed until 1540, when it was consecratel by the then Bishop Fuenmayor. It stands, and is in use to-day, the oldest monument of Catholicism in the Western hemisphere. The remains of Columbus and his son were brought here from Spain in 1583 and deposited in a tomb at the side of the high altar, where they remained until 1795. In that year, by the treaty of Basle, Spain relinquished to France all her sovereignty in the island. Many of the Spanish residents gave up their homes and went to Cuba, and the officials, who likewise returned there, carried with them many of the archives as well as the remains of Columbus, which were deposited in the Cathedral at Havana.

Of the first Bishop-elect of Santo Domingo some Spanish historians assert that he never received episcopal consecration and died without having visited his diocese. But on the other hand it is clamed that Don Carlos de Aragon, who was a relative of King Ferdinand, went to San Domingo in the capacity of vicar general, representing Bishop Padilla, and that he took possession of the see in his name. (Nouel, *Historia,* etc. Tomo I, p. 48.)

However that may be, the Bishop did not long survive his elevation to the episcopal dignity. He died in 1513 and was succeeded by Bishop Alessandro Geraldini.

Respecting Bishop Padilla it may be said that he was a man of piety and learning. He had been confessor to Queen Leonora, the consort of King Manoel of Portugal. Like his great contemporary, Ximenes, then Archbishop of Toledo, he was strict in the observance of the Franciscan Rule to which both were vowed, and it may well be that the reports of the cruel treatment of the natives by the Spaniards and their unscrupulous efforts to accumulate wealth made him shrink from assuming the obligations of a bishop in a diocese in which these abuses had become firmly rooted. He must have known what powerful influences were exerted at court to prevent any reform of the practises of the colonists in their dealings with the Indians and must have foreseen that amid such surroundings the life of a bishop loyal to his duty meant a life of unrelenting warfare.

His successor, Bishop Geraldini, was an Italian who had been acting as Apostolic Nuncio at the Spanish Court. His nomination was not confirmed until 1516, and, as he was then actually abroad on a diplomatic mission to the English court, his departure for his new sée was postponed until 1520, in which year he arrived in San Domingo. But before this the two Bishops, de Deza of La Vega in Hispaniola and Alfonso Monso in Porto Rico, had already arrived and were directing their dioceses, the former in 1514 (Nouel *Historia* I, p. 51), the latter in 1513. Bishop Monso would thus appear to be the first who set foot on American soil. Later (1547), the See of Concepcion de la Vega, the second of the two sees on the island, was united with that of San Domingo, which later was raised to an archbishopric and made independent of Seville and was invested with jurisdiction over those of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico and later over Venezuela.

Thereafter and continuing down to the present there has been

a succession of prelates appointed to this metropolitan see. Their names are given and the principal events of their administration are reviewed by Mgr. Nouel in his *Historia (Supra)*. But we assume that the events of modern times, and commencing with the appointment of Archbishop Fernando Portillo in 1788, will have most interest for our readers, for, since that time, the history of the Church in San Domingo is interwoven with that of Haiti, and neither of these can be told without reference to the economic and political conditions, particularly the latter, which prevailed in both places and which prostrated the Church and nearly destroyed religion throughout the island.

But before coming to these times we may be permitted to refer briefly to some of the vicissitudes through which the Spanish colony had passed. The most remarkable of these was the rapid falling away of the Spanish population after a comparatively short period of growth and prosperity and, in the case of the native Indians, their gradual decay, so that, as all historians are agreed, within fifty years after they had met the white man this race of harmless, inoffensive beings whom Columbus had commended for their gentleness and the hospitality which he received from them, was almost completely exterminated.

In the case of the Spanish population most of the settlers had been attracted by the stories of the wonderful mines of gold and silver existing in the Indies, as the newly discovered land was called. It is safe to say that those who left Spain did so in the hope of speedily acquiring a fortune from this source. Indeed, the revenue from the mines was one of the subjects covered by the agreement above referred to made at Burgos between the respective officials of the Church and the State.

Agriculture seems not to have been developed beyond what was necessary for providing food for the support of the colony, although we read that the cultivation of the sugar cane, mulberry trees and various spices was introduced in the colony in its early years. In 1510 the cultivation of sugar had become an estab-

lished industry carried on mainly by negro slaves, who had been imported into the colony in considerable numbers.

But the mines could not be worked without the labor of the Indians, and as these could not be expected to engage voluntarily in work so different from their previous mode of living the system of *Repartimientos* was devised by the Spanish officials. By this the labor of a certain number of families of Indians was allotted to the several colonists to be employed on their lands, or in the mines, for which they were to be justly compensated. But the permission to use this enforced labor was accompanied by strict injunctions from the sovereigns requiring the masters not to overwork their subjects, but to limit their hours and seasons of labor and to treat them humanely and considerately; to see that they were instructed in the knowledge of the Christian Faith and in the practise of religion, and generally to do all that was proper to promote their welfare, both spiritual and temporal. How these instructions were disregarded; how the Indians were overworked by their cruel taskmasters and subjected to the greatest hardships and privations so that as a result many of them died; how others fled to the mountains, where they were hunted by the Spaniards with dogs and those who were retaken were tortured, many of them, to death, all this is matter of unquestioned history. But it is equally true that the great body of the clergy raised their voices in protest against the cruelties practised upon the Indians. The brave Father Montesinos, a Dominican, was compelled to return to Spain to defend himself for having publicly from his pulpit accused the colonists of violating both the laws of God and of their sovereigns in their treatment of the natives. That other great Dominican, Las Casas, was an eye-witness to the wrongs committed against the natives and he became their advocate and journeyed more than once to Spain, where before the court he denounced the colonists for their inhuman treatment of his "poor Indians," as he called them.

All the agitation availed nothing toward correcting the abuses

complained of. Some of the courtiers in Spain, and many of the officials in the colony, were financially interested in the product of the mines, and they opposed any interference with the existing methods of dealing with the Indians. The wars in which King Ferdinand was engaged had created a great need of money and there were other questions of pressing importance at home. The death of Queen Isabella removed the one person who might have mitigated the evil, but with a blind folly the colonists, unrestrained, went on exhausting and destroying the very foundation of their wealth, the "pivot on which everything else turned," as an old writer describes it, until in 1538, a space of less than fifty years from the time of the discovery, there was hardly a native Indian left.

In his zeal for his humble protégés Las Casas estimated that at the time of the Spanish occupation there were three million Indians in Hispaniola, but this has been pronounced a "wild exaggeration." Other Spanish estimates gave the number as one million. Professor Bourne in his *Spain in America* shows (p. 213) that the number could hardly have reached 300,000 and probably did not exceed 200,000. Before the year 1540 there was a noticeable decline in the Spanish population of the colony. Although many thousand Indian inhabitants of the neighboring islands (Bahamas) had been enticed to come to Hispaniola to replace the disappearing natives, and although other thousands of African slaves had likewise been brought in and added to the population and were put to work in the sugar fields, the results were disappointing. The yield of the mines had not met the expectations of the adventurers and their enthusiasm over the new settlement had abated. But more than anything else the extension of Spanish influence to Mexico, Peru and other localities in South and Central America and the reports of the rich mines which had been found there diverted the emigration from Spain to those new countries and even drew away many of those who had already settled in Hispaniola. So great was the need of

men that the Government of Spain offered free transportation together with grants of land to those who would raise and conduct a colony for settlement on that island.

Until about the year last mentioned the settlement flourished, many towns were built, mines were opened and plantations cultivated. For many years gold of the value of about a half million dollars, the product of the mines, was sent to the royal clearing house, the *Casa de Contracion,* at Seville, which administered the commerce of the colony under the direction of the Council of the Indies. During that period the activities of the Church kept pace with those of the State; the cathedral was completed; churches were built and hospitals established, schools were opened and a university was erected by the Dominicans and was attached to their convent of the Holy Cross in the City of San Domingo, and communities from nearly all the religious Orders existing in Spain were located there.

Then followed a period of decline from which the colony never fully recovered; the population diminished, many towns were abandoned and fell into ruins and commerce had almost died out; the island suffered from repeated earthquakes and at several periods from pestilence and from the attacks of the French and English buccaneers, among them Sir Francis Drake, who took possession of the cathedral and exacted a ransom before leaving. All these causes contributed to make living in the Spanish colony unsafe and undesirable. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that about 1712 there remained only 18,000 souls in the whole Spanish territory (Nouel, *Historia* I, p. 282) and that in 1730 the population had dwindled to about 6,000 persons.

The Church, of course, suffered severely from these altered conditions. Although religion was supported by the State, it was understood that such support should come from the revenues of the colony and there was no such revenue. The people were reduced to penury and the salaries of officials, including

the clergy, and other expenses of the colony were paid from the revenue of the mines in Mexico and elsewhere. Many of the clergy withdrew; churches were abandoned for want of worshippers and generally the public observance of religious worship greatly declined.

But while the Spanish colony had thus retrograded the prosperity of the French in Haiti was steadily increasing. In 1697 Spain had ceded to France all the Western end of the island, which thus became formally a French colony. Upon the northern, the richest of all these provinces in both plantations and slaves, the wealth of the colony depended. The importation of African slaves was increased from year to year, until in 1789 the total population of this character approximated half a million souls. This great source of wealth proved afterwards the instrument by which all wealth in the colony was destroyed.

In a previous chapter we have told of the separate systems of ecclesiastical government prevailing at this time, one in the French, the other in the Spanish colony. These continued without change down to the Revolution. But in both places conditions existed which induced great relaxation of morals and discipline.

In his history, *Les Dominicains en Amerique,* p. 468, Father M. A. Rose tells the story of the great achievements of that Order in the new world and laments the decadence of the religious Orders in America, his own among them. He adds that persecution was not their most terrible enemy, but that the most formidable one was relaxation and forgetfulness of the objects for which they were founded.

In examining into the conditions in Haiti we have been greatly helped by the researches of the Right Reverend Ignace Le Ruzic, Bishop of Cayes in Haiti, the results of which are shown in his work, *Documents sur la mission des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint Domingue Du Schisme au Concordat,* published in 1912. With great industry the author has collected from official records and

other reliable sources the material for a history of religion in Haiti, and has exhibited the character and habits of the colonists as well as of the clergy who administered their spiritual affairs. Of more importance still is his account of the work done since the Concordat by the devoted priests and the members of the religious Orders, both men and women, in aid of the restoration of religion among a people who, though imbued with Catholic traditions, had relapsed so far from the true principles of Catholic faith and practise. Later on we shall devote a few lines to this subject.

We have stated that for want of bishops the only ecclesiastical authority in Haiti (apart from the control exercised by the State officials) was vested in two Prefects Apostolic who were members of religious Orders. But this system was not inaugurated until about 1705. Prior to that time a few Capuchins, Dominicans, Carmelites and Cordeliers, as the Franciscans were called in France, and in addition some secular priests were exercising their ministry in the colony. Some of these came later and resided with the colonists as their private chaplains—an arrangement which provoked objection by the priest in charge of the district and led to an order of the king (1716) suppressing these private chapels. (See Le Ruzic, *Documents,* p. 30.)

In 1681, just before the arrival of the Dominicans, Saint-Méry wrote (Id., p. 12): "The clergy are recruited here in a most improvised fashion. The Capuchins, discouraged by the results of their first efforts, have almost abandoned the mission; the Carmelites established themselves now in one locality and than in another, * * * and adventuring seculars and monks, who have renounced their Order, are engaged for some days in the vacant cures. It is a constant come and go. No ecclesiastical authority directs the spiritual administration of the colony to produce stability in the ranks, which vary from month to month."

In 1682 the Capuchins withdrew and were replaced soon

after by the Jesuits. In 1704 Father Gerard, the superior of the latter, arrived and established his community under Letters Patent from the King authorizing them to undertake the work of the mission in the Northern part of the colony and thenceforward the local superiors of the two Orders, viz., the Dominicans and the Jesuits, acting as Prefects Apostolic, exercised such authority as was allowed to them in the respective parishes and districts assigned to them by agreement with the civil authorities. The Jesuits remained until the suppression in 1763. They in turn were then replaced by the Capuchins. Monsignor Le Ruzic's narrative does not deal with the administration of affairs by the Jesuits further than to mention the number of those who were engaged in the ministry. Thus in 1705 they began with six priests of their own Order and two seculars, who had the care of eight parishes. Twenty years later they had eighteen missionaries, and in 1743 there were only fourteen, most of them aged and infirm. In 1763 the local council ordered Fathers Dusaurier and Desmarets, the only remaining members of the Order, to quit the Colony. The colonists were not averse to parting with the Jesuits, whom they regarded as over-zealous for the welfare of the slaves and who taught the doctrine of the equality before God of all men whether black or white, and the duty of the masters to improve the moral and religious conditions of their slaves. As against this fault-finding, M. Le Ruzic tells us (p. 138) that "the testimony is unanimous to the zeal, piety and regularity of the Jesuits."

Of Dominicans there were in 1707 not more than five. These had the care of eleven parishes. In 1764 there were nineteen and in 1773 twenty-six, being the largest number credited to them at any one period, and in 1789 their number was twenty-four. Of the number of seculars who were engaged in the ministry we have no precise information, but that there was a great scarcity of priests is very evident, especially when we consider the steadily increasing population of the colony, which reached

its maximum of about 500,000 souls in 1789. Change of diet and habits of life, the torrid heat, yellow fever and impure drinking water, coupled with the exhausting labors of the mission, were the cause of great mortality among the clergy. Among the Jesuits alone there had been fifty-six deaths in the first forty years after they had begun their labors in 1704. New recruits were not to be had, in spite of the fact that the colony had become enormously rich and was able to provide generously for all the needs of religion.

The spiritual condition of the colony, however, was not the matter of most concern to the colonists; their plantations, their slaves, the money return from these and the luxurious living in which they indulged were of most interest to them. There was no bishop to correct abuses or to expose in an authoritative manner the spiritual needs of the colony or to solicit the assistance of religious willing to emigrate to the colony and share in the work of caring for the vast population of negroes, to say nothing of the whites, who stood so greatly in need of the ministration of religion. Various efforts had been made to obtain the appointment of a bishop, but these had been defeated or failed from various causes which cannot be detailed here. It remains only to say that the colony, economically prosperous but religiously stagnant, if not decaying, drifted along under the conditions we have mentioned until the fateful days of the Revolution.

The troubles in Haiti, which are commonly spoken of as the Revolution, have been assumed by some writers to be identical in their origin and development with those of that other revolution occurring in the mother country at the same time. It is true that the spirit of unrest and of discontent with existing conditions preceded both movements, but this may be affirmed of nearly all revolutions wherever they occur; true also that the evils complained of were taken under consideration by one and the same tribunal sitting at Versailles and that the failure

to provide a remedy led in both cases to the most inhuman and atrocious excesses. Yet when the matter is examined closely we think it will appear that the immediate causes of the two revolutions were wholly dissimilar.

In France there was no slavery or mulatto question, at least not until after these questions had become acute in Haiti, where they had originated, and had been carried to France by the colonists in an effort to forestall any action upon them by the National Assembly. The planters in Haiti had complained of the restrictions on trade which required them to purchase their supplies in France, but the French merchants and ship owners were interested in maintaining this monopoly. The mass of the French people had no interest in or sympathy with this complaint and the matter does not appear to have received much, if any, attention in the assembly.

On the other hand in Haiti there were no nobles or prelates to claim the privileges, immunities and exemptions which those classes enjoyed in France and the burdens of which were shifted to the common people. There was no taxation of the many for the benefit of the few, except as the mulattoes complained that they were taxed but not allowed to vote. In France the members of the three Estates were keenly interested in these several questions. The States-General had been convened for the very purpose of dealing with them, but so little were the colonies supposed to be interested that they had not even been invited to send delegates to that Convention. The questions which actually caused the uprisings in the colony were the emancipation of the slaves and the enfranchisement of the mulattoes. These two classes were hostile to one another and the whites were hostile to both of them. By the latter the slaves were regarded as their "movable property," on which they paid tax and by which they reckoned their wealth, and they took care that the mulattoes, many of whom had inherited the intelligence of their white fathers, should never forget that their mothers were negro slaves and it was

considered dangerous to entrust them with any political power. The whites were resolved never to consent to any departure from the conditions prevailing in the colony relating to slaves and mulattoes and hence when the National Assembly seemed about to grant a measure of relief to the colored inhabitants and when this was defeated through the exertions of the planters the insurrection broke out.

The population of the colony at that time was made up of two divisions, namely, the whites and the persons of color, and each of these in turn was composed of various groups or classes. The white population consisted of government officials, including a small military force, the white planters and the *petits blancs*, or "mean whites" as they were called. The latter are described as mostly adventurers and men of shady character noted for their brutality, their lawlessness and their hatred of the colored race. (See Prof. Mitchell Bennett Garrett *The French Colonial Question,* p. 2.) The total white population was then about 25,000 (exclusive of the military force and officials), of whom one-half were women and children. (Id., p. 29.) The military force consisted of regular troops brought from France, seldom exceeding 3,000 men, supplemented by about the same number of militia made up of whites, mulattoes and free blacks, to which each parish contributed its quota.

Against this there was a colored population numbering slightly under 500,000, divided into (1) mulattoes, (2) free blacks and (3) slaves. According to the best estimate the last named class numbered not less than 450,000, all of whom were either born in Africa or were children of African-born parents. Most of them were field laborers employed on the plantations where the rich crops of sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton and the like were produced. Others, constituting a small and favored class, were employed as house servants in the homes of their masters, either in the towns or more often in their villas away from the heat as well as from the unsanitary conditions which prevailed in the

crowded localities, and it was chiefly the slaves of this latter class who later on were found assisting their masters and mistresses to escape and who accompanied them in their flight when the uprisings occurred.

The extent of the work accomplished by the field negro may be judged from the statistics quoted by Edwards that in 1789, the last year when peaceful operations were permitted, there were in Haiti about 800 sugar plantations, 2,800 coffee plantations and over 3,000 on which indigo was produced, and that the product of sugar that year amounted to over 163,000,000 pounds, of coffee over 60,000,000 pounds and of indigo nearly 1,000,000 pounds. It may also be mentioned as of some significance that during each of the three preceding years nearly 30,000 fresh slaves were brought in by the slave traders from West Africa to replace those who had succumbed either to disease or to the hardships of their employment and the few who escaped.

The free blacks were an insignificant number, probably not more than 1,500, and were held of no account either socially or politically. The mulattoes, numbering about 40,000, were an important body. Some were educated. Many of them were rich and owned large plantations and many slaves. Indeed, it has been estimated that they owned one-third of the soil and about one-quarter of the whole number of slaves in the colony. Some of them had lived in Paris and many had sent their children to France to be educated. But they had no social standing. A mulatto could not take his father's name nor inherit his property at death, nor had they any voice in the administration of the government of the colony, although they paid taxes and were subject to compulsory military service.

The author of *The French Colonial Question* before referred to sums up their status as follows:

"They were not allowed to wear fine clothes, to ride in carriages, to sit beside the whites in church or at meals, and though they served in the ranks of the militia and bore other burdens

of citizenship they were forbidden to hold any office, trust or employment. A mulatto could not be a priest, nor a lawyer, nor a physician, nor a surgeon, nor an apothecary, nor a school master. Between the mulattoes and themselves the whites had fixed a great gulf and they were determined that there should be no crossing. Naturally the mulattoes were discontented with their status, and as early as 1784 they were appealing to the Minister of Marine to redress their grievances."

When the news reached the colony of the intended convocation of the States-General in May, 1789, the white planters resolved to seek to be represented there, and about one month after the opening of the Assembly a number of deputies chosen by them, claiming to represent the colony, appeared at Versailles and asked to be admitted as its representatives. After much discussion six of them were admitted with the right to vote. Later on two deputies from each of the colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique were likewise admitted.

But the effort of the white colonists to participate in the work of the Assembly proved to be the opening of a veritable Pandora's box. The debate upon their demand for admission had dragged into the open questions of the slave trade, the emancipation of the slaves and the relief of the mulattoes from their political disabilities, all of them questions which the white planters were most interested should not be discussed by an Assembly whose watchword was "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and which had solemnly voted that "all men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights."

On their part the mulattoes were not idle. The wealthy ones residing in Paris were alert to the opportunity which the situation presented, and even before the first meeting of the Assembly they had held meetings and published tracts and otherwise agitated the question of their status with a view to moulding public opinion in their favor. They had friends and advocates in the Assembly, and the society known as the *Amis des Noirs*

kept up an agitation designed to secure the emancipation of the slaves as well as the political enfranchisement of the mulattoes. The membership of this club included such names as Brissot, Robespierre, La Fayette and the Abbé Gregoire, afterwards the schismatic Bishop of Blois, who was their most notable spokesman.

They were also assisted by the British "Association for the Abolition of the Slave Trade," with headquarters in London, which published tracts tending to incite the negroes to rebellion and bloodshed, and circulated these not only in England, but throughout the French islands, and there were violent speeches in the British Parliament denouncing the West India planters for their treatment of their slaves. Thenceforward the contest was carried on unceasingly until the flight of Louis XVI and the disorders which resulted put an end to all parliamentary deliberation.

The mulattoes claimed that by reason of their numbers and their large interests in the colony they were entitled to be represented in the National Assembly, and asserted correctly enough that the deputies who had been sent forward by the white planters not only did not represent them, but were hostile to them. They were heard through their advocate at the bar of the Assembly. The powerful clubs of Paris advocated their cause and public opinion was growing in their favor.

They were asking only that the National Assembly would act consistently with its principles expressed in the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man." But the white planters contended that those principles could not be applied to the West Indian colonies. They saw only ruin to their plantations and consequent loss of fortune in case slavery were abolished. If the mulattoes were to be vested with the right to vote, and their political disabilities were removed, it was easy to see that the white planters would soon lose control of the administration of their affairs and would have to face the problems resulting from the suppression

of the slave trade, without which the plantations could not be carried on. Hence they spared no effort to exclude those burning questions from decision by the National Assembly and speciously sought to have them remitted to their own local assembly, where, as they argued, they could be dealt with more intelligently. In those local assemblies the mulattoes had no vote.

In order to influence the acts of the National Assembly they sought and obtained the assistance of the merchants in the large shipping ports who supplied goods to the planters, and who were their creditors for large sums; and of the ship owners, who foresaw that any interference with established conditions would result in great loss of their trade.*

Petitions were sent in from several of the large cities asking that the National Assembly would not interfere with the institution of slavery in the colonies. The result was the appointment of a committee on colonies in which a large number, if not the majority, of the members were either colonial proprietors or ship owners or persons otherwise identified with the interests of the white planters.

At last, in March, 1790, the Assembly voted a Decree followed by an Instruction relative to the policy of government in San Domingo and the other French islands. By these it was deeclared that, "*All persons* aged twenty-five years and upwards possessing real estate, or, in default of such property, domiciled for two years in the parish and paying taxes shall meet and form the parochial assembly." And these parochial assemblies were in turn to select representatives who would constitute the upper deliberative body in the several departments of the colony. But the white planters refused to conform to the requirements of

[*By far the greater part of the produce of the colony was exported to France which in turn sent back its wines, liquors, silk and other manufactured goods as well as provisions (See Edwards, *History, supra*) and the importation of such supplies from any country other than France was prohibited. It readily will be seen how profitable such an arrangement must have been to the merchants and ship owners of the mother country who were protected against all foreign competition.]

this Decree, and not only protested but adopted and forwarded the National Assembly an address of a defiant character in which they declared that the colony will "never sacrifice an indispensable prejudice in regard to the mulattoes, it will protect them, it will ameliorate their lot * * * but the colony ought to be, the colony shall be the sole judge, the absolute master of the times and means. * * * * As to the slaves, our slave interest is allied to their well-being, but the colony will not suffer that that sort of property which it holds legally and upon which all other property is dependent be put in jeopardy either now or in the future."

And again, said they: "Grant in advance to the colony as an inalterable article of the French Constitution that no laws concerning the interior régime and notably concerning the status of the different classes of inhabitants which compose the colony shall ever be made except upon the precise and formal demand of the colony itself." In these phrases the term "the colony" meant simply the body of white planters having the exclusive right to vote upon all questions arising in the colonial assemblies and these demands and threatenings, coming as they did from the white planters, were tantamount to a declaration that no relief would ever be given to the mulattoes and that the institution of slavery and the slave trade would never be abandoned.

In the meantime the spirit of revolt had already been made manifest in the colony. Some of the plantations had been fired and destroyed and similar events had occurred in the Islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, where there had been direct conflicts between the blacks and the whites resulting in great loss of life on both sides. In Haiti the mulattoes had been attacked and some of their number shot. The report of these disorders had reached the Assembly at Versailles with the result that the mulatto and slave questions were reopened and a Decree, enacted in May, 1791, which, though equivocal in its terms, tended to nullify the previous Decree and Instruction of March, 1790. So

far as the colored people were concerned, it limited the franchise to those only who were born of free parents, a qualification which rarely existed and could practically never be established.

This disposition of the two important questions was not satisfactory to either of the classes concerned and soon after the news reached San Domingo of what had thus been done the Governor wrote home (see Garrett, p. 119): "But the mulattoes are going to demand as a consequence of the Decree admission to all official positions. * * * * I shall do my best to keep the peace or rather to prevent the shedding of blood, but you see from the condition of the colony how favorable my efforts are going to be. It is inevitable that all the whites will unite into a single party opposed to the execution of the Decree. In a word, Monsieur, I have reason to fear that this Decree, if it is not at least modified, will prove the death warrant of many thousand men, including those very persons who were the objects of its solicitude."

Like apprehensions were expressed in various memorials originating in different cities and from some of the local assemblies in the colony, all inspired by the white planters, as well as in petitions and addresses from citizens of various cities in France trading with the colony. These were read to the Assembly at Versailles and again that vacillating body was overborne by the insistent partisans of the planters, and a new Decree was passed September 24, 1791, repealing those which had been previously made and remitting all questions respecting slavery and the status of the mulattoes to the Colonial assemblies.

But the flame of revolution had already broken out in Haiti, and the Governor's prediction that the dissatisfaction in the colony with the proceedings of the National Assembly would be marked by disorder and bloodshed was then actually being verified. Bryan Edwards, an English traveler who happened to be in Jamaica at this time, visited Haiti in September, 1791, a month after the first large outbreak, and was an eye-witness to many

of the scenes which he describes. In his *History of the British Colonies,* Vol. III, he tells us that the blacks had planned a general insurrection to take place on August 25, but they did not wait for this, and on August 23 the rebellion broke out in the middle of the night on the plantation of Count Noe in the parish Acul near Cap Haitien, the Paris of Haiti, as it was called. From there it spread to the other plantations in the Province; the buildings on the plantations were set on fire and reduced to ashes. Everywhere the white planters who could be found were massacred and the same fate was dealt out to the women and children. In a few instances some of the women and children were sent aboard ships lying in the harbor, some of the domestic negroes being sent along with them as a protection against violence. Says the author (p. 83): "It was computed that within two months after the revolt first began upwards of two thousand white persons of all conditions and ages had been massacred. One hundred and eighty sugar plantations and about nine hundred coffee, cotton and indigo settlements had been destroyed. And about 1,200 Christian families were reduced from opulence to such a state of misery as to depend altogether for their sustenance on public and private charity."

M. Thiers in his *History of the French Revolution* (Translation of Frederick Shoberl) Vol. III, p. 34, speaking of the events of this period says: "The wealthy settlement of St. Domingo had been the theatre of the greatest horrors recorded in History." In a footnote on p. 35 one of the uprisings is thus described: "At midnight on the 30th of October, 1791, the insurrection of the blacks of St. Domingo broke forth. In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farm houses were reduced to ashes, and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered or thrown into the flames by the infuriated negroes. The horrors of a civil war universally appeared. * * * In 1793 it broke out with redoubled fury. Three thousand insurgents pene-

trated into Cape Town and making straight for the prisons delivered a large body of slaves who were there in chains. Instantly the liberated captives spread themselves over the country, set it on fire in every quarter and massacred the whites. A scene of matchless horror ensued. * * * The finest city in the West Indies was reduced to ashes. Its splendid churches, its stately palaces were wrapped in flames and thirty thousand human beings perished in the massacre."

In the western provinces the insurgents were chiefly mulattoes who were joined by some of the negroes. Repeating what had been done in the other uprisings, they ravaged the country, destroying the plantations and practising their cruelties upon the whites, and this sanguinary contest was not suspended until about September 11, when the white inhabitants agreed to recognize and abide by the decree of the National Assembly of the preceding May, above described, which, it was believed, had enfranchised some of the people of color, but which was afterwards nullified, as we have shown.

But the white planters with the assistance of the Government forces had resisted as best they could and it was reckoned that upwards of ten thousand of the blacks had perished by the sword and famine and some by the hands of the executioner. For the time being quiet was restored, but it was only a pause between insurrections which were renewed from time to time when other plantations were destroyed, the country devastated and the white population mercilessly killed or driven out.

From another source we may add the following particulars respecting the insurrection in 1793 above referred to. In May, 1793, Galbaud, the new Governor appointed by the executive council of the Directory in France, arrived at Cape François to begin his administration of the affairs of the colony. But civil commissioners had likewise come over instructed to carry out the decree of the National Assembly which enfranchised some of the men of color, but gave no relief to the slaves. The Governor

was a colonial proprietor himself, although residing in France, and his sympathies were entirely with his class. A conflict arose between the adherents of the rival authorities and to add to the excitement war broke out at the same time between France and England.

In order to increase their military strength the commissioners offered freedom to all the slaves who would enroll as soldiers, and in addition promised that they would have the privilege of pillaging the city. Induced by these promises a large body of negroes came from the plantations in the interior (See Bryan, *History,* etc., pp. 121 sq), and with their aid the forces of the Governor were routed and on June 21 and the two days succeeding the negroes went about destroying the houses and butchering the white inhabitants.

Some were burned to death when the buildings to which they had fled for shelter were set on fire. Others were shot in the water as they were attempting to swim out to some of the boats. Individuals who had incurred the vengeance of the blacks were tortured and put to death in most cruel and barbarous ways, so that at the end of three days not a single white person remained alive in the place. But the exhibitions of savagery were not wholly on the side of the slaves. In his *History of the West Indian Islands,* Mr. Robert T. Hill of the United States Geological Survey, describing the insurrection last above referred to, speaks of it as an insurrection of the whites and says (p. 292) that "the terrible cruelty and treachery of the whites to the black and colored people of Haiti were hardly less savage than the retaliation of the blacks" and this is sustained by the accounts contained in the writings of various historians who have sought to palliate the conduct of the slaves and mulattoes and have presented the case from their point of view.

A portion of the population who had foreseen the storm which was coming took refuge on some of the trading vessels which were then in the harbor. A few days later a little fleet

carrying these unfortunate refugees set sail for Baltimore under convoy of one of Galbaud's ships of war, and we are told (see Scharf *History of Maryland,* p. 579), that on July 9, 1793, two French ships, the Jupiter and L'Eole, arrived at Baltimore, bringing with them a fleet of fifty-three small trading vessels on which were distributed about one thousand whites and five hundred colored refugees from San Domingo, being the only survivors of the massacre in June preceding.

These refugees were without money, food or provisions of any kind. Their destitute condition excited the sympathy of the benevolent citizens of Baltimore, who appointed a committee to provide for them and promptly raised a fund of $12,000 for that purpose. Later, other exiles reached Baltimore and were received there with equal kindness.

In view of this hospitable treatment we need not wonder that these exiles and their descendants retained a strong affection for Baltimore and its inhabitants. At different times during the years 1791, 1792 and 1793 others of the white inhabitants of San Domingo and their slaves who remained loyal to them found their way out of their unfortunate island home in different directions. Some went to Cuba and Porto Rico, others to Jamaica, and a large contingent made their way to New Orleans where some Creole families trace their history back to ancestors who had settled in New Orleans after the uprising in San Domingo.*

There are contemporaneous accounts of vessels with exiles on board arriving, some at Savannah, Georgia, others at Charleston, South Carolina, where one hundred and fifty of them landed in August, 1793, under the care of M. Auguste de Grasse, the son of Admiral Count de Grasse, who had been our helpful ally

[*A local history tells of a battalion of free men of color, refugees from San Domingo, who under Major d'Aquin formed an important part of General Jackson's forces at the Battle of New Orleans and that still earlier a company of about eight hundred blacks and mulattoes under the command of Comte d'Estaing had come over from Haiti and had fought on the side of the patriots in the American Revolution.]

in the war of the Revolution. Some went to Wilmington, Delaware, in company with Father Cibot, who had made his escape with them from Haiti. At Philadelphia a much larger contingent arrived to swell the French colony which already contained many citizens, who had left the mother country to escape the terrors of the Revolution there. From Philadelphia the course of some of these refugees may be traced through Bordentown, Trenton and to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and thence to New York, where a considerable number located and found employment or engaged in trade.

Some of these exiles are recorded as having reached New England. In his *History of the Diocese of Hartford* Father O'Donnell says, p. 61: "However, not all the French residents of New London were from France. They came in great numbers from San Domingo, driven thence by an internal warfare that fiercely raged between the whites, blacks and mulattoes from 1791 to the end of the century. * * * During these years of riot, insurrection and bloodshed a steady stream of exiles flowed into New London. They were of every age, class and condition and all were Catholics. After the destruction of Cape François in 1793 a number of French refugees were landed at New London from the brig Sally, Captain Tryon commanding. Later in the same year thirty-four more arrived in the brig Prudence. Among the hapless exiles to reach New London was an abbess of a convent in Cape François. And, the historian adds that "these homeless wanderers were received by the residents of New London with unbounded hospitality."

Among other exiles may be named Louis William Dubourg, who was born at Cape Haitien and received his education at St. Sulpice in France. Compelled by the Revolution to leave France, the disorder in Haiti prevented his return there and he went first to Spain and afterwards (1795) came to the United States in company with other French priests, where he was welcomed by Bishop Carroll. He was made President of St. Charles' Col-

lege, Baltimore, and in 1815 Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, which See he resigned in 1826 and returned to France, where he died, Archbishop of Besançon, December 12, 1833. In Baltimore he gave much of his time to the spiritual care of the negroes, many of whom had come from San Domingo, and who attended the Church of St. Mary, in charge of the Sulpicians. (See Shea *History*, etc., Vol. II, p. 603).

The Right Reverend John J. Chanche, born in Baltimore in 1795, was the son of parents who had been forced to flee from San Domingo. He became a Sulpician and in 1841 was consecrated as first Bishop of the newly created See of Natchez. (Id. Vol. III, p. 660).

Among the clergy were Fathers Stephen Faure and Father Cibot, who are recorded as laboring at Newcastle and Wilmington, Delaware (Id. Vol. II, p. 454), Father Durosier, who officiated at St. Mary's on the Eastern shore of Maryland, (Id. p. 513), and the Abbé Anthony Carles, who labored for several years at Savannah, Georgia.

A list of lay refugees would include a contingent from each of our large cities, especially in the East, Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore having the largest proportion, but it is not within the scope of this paper to tell of their numbers or of their varied activities. An account of those who were buried in the graveyard of old St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia may be found in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. III, p. 440.

The story of these French émigrés is a most interesting one, and while our church histories have made us familiar in some degree with the history of the French ecclesiastics who were compelled to leave their native land at that time, to the great gain of the Church in America, a great deal of history yet remains to be collected respecting the various colonies which, about that time, or previously, had been established by the French in this country and which have since disappeared with scarcely a land-

mark left to tell their location or their achievements or the vicissitudes which preceded their ultimate extinction.

One of these at Azyl, or Asylum, near the present city of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, had been established by French Royalists, and thither went some of these exiles from San Domingo, including Mme. de Seybrecht, M. de Noailles, M. Renaud, M. Bayard with his wife and children and a number of his negro slaves who had remained faithful to him.

There was also a Captain John Keating, who had done service in the regiment of Walsh in the Irish Brigade and with the French troops in San Domingo, and from there had gone to Philadelphia, where he acted as the agent of the Land Company. This colony was located in the wilds of Bradford County, Pennsylvania, on land purchased by the Vicompte de Noailles, La Fayette's brother-in-law, from Robert Morris, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Houses were built, gardens and orchards laid out, and a chapel and theatre erected, but the scheme failed and nothing remains of the colony except the records describing its location.

Another of these unfortunate experiments to which we may briefly refer was the colony attempted to be established at Gallipolis, Ohio, although this was not connected with the troubles in San Domingo. In 1791 about four hundred Frenchmen arrived here after a journey involving great hardships. They had come mostly from Paris, where they had bought land from Joel Barlow, the agent of the Scioto Company. Upon their arrival it was discovered that the Company never had and could not give any title to the land for which they had received the money and their poor dupes, disheartened and impoverished, were compelled to abandon their elaborate plans for establishing a characteristic French colony. Their pitiful condition was made known in Congress, which in 1796 made a grant of two hundred and fifty acres to each family which had bought from the Land Company, but those of the colonists who survived were unsuited to the rough

life of the pioneer and gave up their holdings and withdrew. Some returned to France and others went to French settlements elsewhere in the country.

We will not weary our readers by undertaking to narrate all the political events occurring after the great insurrection last described, and until the blacks came into undisputed control of the island. Revolution succeeded revolution and scenes of disorder and bloodshed followed with bewildering rapidity. Toussaint L'Ouverture had risen as the leader of the blacks, who proved their capacity for military service by the assistance they gave France in the conflict with England, which resulted in the cessation of hostilities and the abandonment by England of all claims on the island. These services had been rendered by the blacks upon the promise that they should be free and they had been organized by Toussaint as a military force for the very purpose of securing such freedom. Toussaint had restored peace all through the island and a constitution had been prepared proclaiming its independence of all foreign power and appointing Toussaint chief ruler virtually for life. Napoleon, then First Consul, could not abide the thought that there should be any political power on a par with, or independent of his own, and in 1801 he sent over a military expedition under the command of Le Clerc, the husband of Pauline Bonaparte, for the purpose of reconquering the island and restoring it to the planters and to re-establish slavery. This ill-fated expedition ended disastrously for the French. The blacks, rendered desperate by the prospect of being again made slaves and goaded by the barbarities practised on them by the French, and for which they retaliated in kind, offered strenuous resistance. In addition disease incident to the climate broke out and 40,000 of the troops are reported to have died from that cause. As the result the remnant of the French Army escaped on their ships only to fall into the hands of the English, with whom war had been renewed, and in 1803 the blacks were again left in sole control of the whole island.

Before this, however, Toussaint had been treacherously induced by Napoleon to go to France, where he was at once thrown into prison and died there a few months later.

Without any competent leader to succeed Toussaint the negroes and mulattoes became disunited and fought between themselves under rival leaders in the different districts until 1804, when Dessalines, as president, proclaimed the independence of Haiti and the emancipation of all persons of color. At the same time, all white people were proscribed from residing or holding property in Haiti.

By this time all legitimate ecclesiastical government in Haiti had ceased and with it all practise of religion. The various insurrections which we have referred to had involved the destruction or abandonment of all churches and chapels excepting about three. There were no legitimate pastors there. Instead there was schism, disorder and scandal.

During the time when Toussaint L'Ouverture controlled the destinies of the island he saw how greatly priests were needed and he applied to his former friend the Abbé Henri Gregoire, who had shown himself the sincere champion of the blacks in the Assembly in France, asking that some priests be selected to administer the spiritual affairs of the island. Of course, the directorate would not send any priests on this errand, excepting such as had taken the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in France and who had thus practically renounced their allegiance to Rome. About ten or twelve such priests arrived in Haiti, one of them the Abbé Mauviel. This last named cleric had been designated by the revolutionary party in France to fill the See of Cayes, formerly a prosperous city in the south of Haiti. This See, and three others in Haiti, had been created by decree of the National Assembly and were to be filled by the priests whom they should elect for that purpose, needless to say without the formality of consulting the Holy See in the matter. In fact, Mauviel had been consecrated at Notre Dame by Roger, the

schismatic Bishop of Paris, assisted by the same Gregoire and by Desbois, both of whom had been made bishops according to the methods employed by the Revolutionists in France. (See Le Ruzic *Documents*, p. 180). These recreant clerics were received by Toussaint and assumed to exercise their functions in the districts assigned to them by him.

One of these priests, Cornelius Brelle, described as being "without faith or conscience," acted as Vicar Apostolic in the Northern district of Haiti. Father LeCun, Vice Prefect, who had been canonically appointed prior to the Revolution, remained at his post in the West until about 1804, when the Civil War prevailing among the different bodies of negroes made it dangerous for him to remain and he withdrew to Jamaica and never returned to Haiti. With him disappeared the last vestige of legitimate ecclesiastical authority in Haiti until the re-establishment of the hierarchy in 1862.

Mauviel visited San Domingo and the French Islands and exercised the various functions of a bishop. In 1804 we find him attached to Christophe, the negro leader of the blacks in the North, who rewarded his services by naming him Archbishop of Port-au-Prince and Grand Chaplain to the king, meaning the same Christophe who had assumed this title and held it until his assassination a few months later.

In the Spanish end of the island Archbishop Fernando Portillo had succeeded to the See of San Domingo, having been appointed in 1788. He was kept fully informed of the progress of revolutionary affairs in France and he witnessed the distressing conditions which existed in the neighboring colony and which threatened the very existence of religion in his own diocese. Fearing that all ecclesiastical authority would soon be suppressed and the property of the Church confiscated, as had happened in Haiti, and that his clergy and the religious who were living in obedience to him might be left without any provision for their support, he directed all the priests within his jurisdiction to leave

the colony and to take with them the sacred vessels and other movable property of the churches and of the religious communities. This was done in conformity with instructions from the Court at Madrid. Accordingly many of the Spanish priests withdrew and it was on this occasion that the remains of Columbus were removed to Havana.

Previous to this many of the inhabitants forseeing the impending storm had given up their homes and had retired, some to Havana and others to Porto Rico or elsewhere. Some of the clergy, more hopeful than their Bishop, were willing to remain with their flocks and enough of them remained to maintain the Cathedral Chapter in its canonical integrity.

Archbishop Portillo himself retired from San Domingo in 1798, going to Havana, after which he was promoted to be Archbishop of the See of Bogota. Before leaving he had appointed a Vicar Capitular, who was the ecclesiastical superior of such of the Spanish priests as had remained, and this form of ecclesiastical government for that See continued until 1809 when San Domingo was restored to the Spanish Crown.

Steps were then taken to fill the vacancy in that See and in 1810 Don Pedro Valera was appointed Archbishop by the Spanish Court, presumably with the consent of the Holy See, and immediately took possession of his See and began the work of restoring religion. Owing, as we may suppose, to the political complications in Europe (See *Historia,* p. 173), the Bulls appointing him were not dispatched from Rome until 1817, and he was only consecrated the following year.

From the time of Dessalines down to the Concordat there was a succession of civil rulers in Haiti, most of them known as Presidents. One of them, however, took on the additional title of Emperor and another that of King. They were all either full-blooded negroes or mulattoes. Some of the latter, like Petion and Boyer, were men of education and refinement. By courtesy they were spoken of as having been elected, but in fact more

often their possession of office was based upon the circumstance that they had succeeded by a successful revolution in overthrowing their predecessor in office. While the duration of their term of office was fixed by law some were driven out before it expired. Some fled the country, others were assassinated. One notable exception was Boyer, who came into power in 1820 and remained at the head of affairs until 1844. We shall have occasion to refer to Boyer hereafter.

During the period of the administrations of these rulers the white man was studiously excluded from citizenship or from owning any property or carrying on trade within the territory of the republic. Constitutions were made or amended and legislation was enacted which was modeled upon that which had been carried through the revolutionary legislatures in France. This was especially true of the laws affecting the relations of Church and State. While religion was formally professed and the Catholic Church was recognized as the religion of the great mass of the people, yet it is evident that the lawmakers were imbued with the Napoleonic idea that the Church ought to be simply a department of the State to be managed by State officials.

Of the character of the clergy who came to Haiti in the period of which we have written we are told (See Le Ruzic *Documents,* p. 191) that they were made up altogether of monks who had renounced their orders, Italians, Spaniards, Corsicans and South Americans, as well as French secular priests, who had been driven from their dioceses; that many of these adventurers had been sentenced to punishment in their own countries and had fled to escape the hand of justice; and that some of them pretending to be priests had not even been ordained.

But the Holy See was not unmindful of the desperate condition into which the country had drifted. Although the Constitution promulgated in 1804 had declared the Catholic religion to be the religion of the State and the people were ignorant of any other form of Christianity, yet their acquaintance with the truths

of religion was very limited. They had neither precept nor example to direct them how they should live, while the examples of evil living unrestrained by any moral influence were only too numerous and noticeable. The heathenish practices known as voudouxism were not uncommon among the negroes of African birth or parentage. This, as well as other immoralities from which they had never been reclaimed, operated still further to their moral degradation and it was evident that religion and morals would be utterly lost and their civilization set back indefinitely unless they were helped from without. For this purpose no more efficient help could be given than by providing ministers of religion whose teaching would be orthodox and whose lives would be edifying.

During the administration of Mgr. Valera as Archbishop of San Domingo some attempt was made to restore ecclesiastical discipline in Haiti by extending his jurisdiction so as to include the former French territory. As there had been a revolution in San Domingo in 1806 with the result that this territory had been restored to the Crown of Spain, to which the Archbishop and his priests owed allegiance, it was doubtful how far and under what conditions the Haitian officials would permit the exercise of ecclesiastical authority in their republic Matters dragged along unsettled until 1826 when, under instruction from the Propaganda, the Archbishop appointed three vicars-general for Haiti. By this time the Spanish territory had again changed ownership. A successful revolution had enabled Boyer, then President of Haiti, to incorporate it within the dominion of his republic. Boyer had declined to accept some of the vicars-general appointed by the Archbishop and he had cut off the revenues from lands and other sources which belonged to the Archbishop by endowment by the Spanish Crown. These with other circumstances prevented any real or permanent improvement in the affairs of the Church, and in 1829 the Archbishop retired to Havana, where he died in 1834.

During the Presidency of Boyer (1818-1844) various missions were sent to Haiti by the Holy Father for the purpose of effecting some agreement between the Church and the State which would permit of the organization of a legitimate ecclesiastical government in Haiti. If such an arrangement could be made the schism with all its attendant disorders would be terminated and the faithful instructed by legitimate and zealous pastors would be brought under the influence of that Church in which they all professed to believe. For different reasons several of these missions were wholly fruitless, but one of them which had been entrusted to the Right Reverend John England, Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina, deserves more than passing mention. Jean Pierre Boyer, the President above referred to, with whom the negotiations were carried on, was born at Port-au-Prince, his father being a white man; his mother an African negress, had been a slave. He had lived for a time and had received some education in France. He had gained some reputation as a soldier, first as one of Toussaint's lieutenants, then with the French under LeClerc and later against the French and on the side of the blacks under Ṗetion who had preceded him as President. On the death of Petion he became the President of the Republic and so continued for nearly twenty-five years, his term exceeding that of any other President either before or since. While professing great concern for religion, Boyer held firmly the doctrine that it belonged to the State to supervise and control the administration of all ecclesiastical affairs, including the appointment of the curés and the assignment of their parish limits and the few clergy then in Haiti had derived their appointment from him and in this and in other ways he had assumed to exercise ecclesiastical authority. Such were some of the characteristics of the personage with whom the distinguished American prelate had to deal.

In January, 1834, Bishop England arrived in Haiti. He brought with him a commission from the Holy See dated May 15,

1833, naming him Delegate-Apostolic to the Republic of Haiti, and conferring on him full power to treat with the head of that government with a view to the restoration of religion and to provide for the spiritual needs of the faithful in the Republic. He was received courteously and in a manner becoming the dignity of his office. Boyer at once named two commissioners to carry on the negotiations with Bishop England with a view to an agreement as the basis of a concordat. Meetings were held and the Haitian commissioners carrying out their instructions proposed that there should be a concordat between the Holy See and the republic along the same lines as that which had been arranged in 1802 between Pope Pius VII and Napoleon as first Consul of the French Republic (See Nouel *Historia* I, p. 386).

It was further intimated by the Haitian commissioners that the government desired there should be a national clergy to be supplied from the youth of Haitian birth who were to be trained in seminaries to be established in the different departments of the republic, and further that, with a view to the successful development of the Church, the Archiepiscopal See of San Domingo should be transferred to Puerto Principe as the capital of the Republic of Haiti and that in addition there should be three bishoprics created in the Spanish end of the island and three others on the Haitian side.

To these somewhat formidable requests Bishop England replied that there was no parallel between the conditions then existing in Haiti and those which induced the concordat of 1802; that the change in the hierarchical system was unnecessary and that the needs of religion could be supplied by the appointment of one or more bishops *in partibus,* who should act as Vicars-Apostolic.

Another point in dispute was the right which the Haitian Government strongly insisted on of nominating the candidates to be appointed to the various Sees as well as such other officials as might be authorized to exercise jurisdiction over the clergy.

This was met by a proposal by the Delegate that the temporal power be excluded from all participation in ecclesiastical affairs and he demanded the abrogation of all civil laws affecting ecclesiastical discipline, including the temporal rights, dignities and immunities which might rightfully under canon law belong to the clergy. The discussion of these questions between the parties was carried on steadily until February 21, when, it being manifest that no agreement was possible, negotiations were suspended.

It was evident that the effort on Boyer's part was chiefly to retain the right to nominate the persons who were to be appointed bishops and he insisted that no jurisdiction should be exercised excepting by bishops thus selected, while on the other hand Bishop England desired that such jurisdiction should be exercised only by Vicars-Apostolic, to be appointed by the Pope of his own motion and without previous consultation with the head of the state. These positions being plainly irreconcilable, it was arranged between the Bishop and Boyer that the former would go to Rome to report the result of the negotiations and with the hope that some compromise measure might be adopted, if possible, satisfactory to both sides.

With this understanding Bishop England left Haiti and returned to Charleston, whence he soon departed for Rome for the purpose of the negotiations so begun with Boyer. If a concordat were arranged in terms agreeable to Boyer the latter had offered to nominate Bishop England Archbishop of the See to be established in Haiti (Nouel I, p. 394). During this time the See of Charleston, South Carolina, was administered by the Right Reverend William Clancy, the vicar-general, who had been nominated as coadjutor to Bishop England and had arrived at Charleston in 1835 to assume the duties of his office during the absence of Bishop England.

Late in the year 1835 Bishop England returned from Rome to his diocese bringing with him his appointment as Vicar-Apostolic over the Haitian territory. Boyer, however, had not in any wise

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modified his design of having a concordat on the terms previously communicated to Bishop England. In this situation of affairs the Bishop sent his coadjutor to Puerto Principe with a copy of the brief appointing him, Bishop England, Vicar-Apostolic and with instructions to present this to Boyer, and thereupon as his vicar-general to assume the government of the Church in Haiti. But no sooner had Bishop Clancy arrived in Haiti (February, 1836) than he was met with a notification from the commissioners appointed by Boyer that he could not be received as representing Bishop England in the government of the Church in Haiti and that Bishop England himself would not be admitted as Vicar-Apostolic nor would there be any settlement of ecclesiastical affairs until a concordat had been agreed to by the Holy See. Unable to make any progress with Boyer Bishop Clancy applied to Dr. Portes, the Vicar-General of the Spanish diocese of San Domingo, asking that he appoint him, Clancy, his vicar-general in Haiti (Nouel, p. 395), but Dr. Portes refused this as an attempt to subject the clergy of the Archdiocese to the jurisdiction of Bishop England. Under the circumstances nothing was left to Bishop Clancy but to retire from the island, which he did.*

In May following Bishop England returned to Puerto Principe as Vicar-Apostolic with renewed authority to arrange the terms of a concordat and again negotiations were resumed with the commissioners appointed by Haiti and a concordat was framed containing provisions somewhat modified but similar to those in the concordat of 1802, and which Bishop England had refused two years before.

Again Bishop England journeyed to Rome to submit this concordat for consideration by the Holy See. But Gregory XVI refused his assent. Instead he gave a fresh appointment to

[*Bishop Clancy was consecrated at Carlow, Ireland, where he had been a professor, February 1, 1835, not long after Bishop England's first visit to Rome and he arrived at Charleston on November 21 following. Ecclesiastical records show that he assisted at the Baltimore Council in 1837. His appointment the following year as Vicar-Apostolic to British Guiana would indicate that he was no longer attached to the See of Charleston. He returned to Ireland and died at Cork in 1847.]

Bishop England as Vicar-Apostolic, coupling with it an appointment as Administrator-Apostolic of the Archdiocese. Thus empowered Bishop England went to Puerto Principe for the third time, reaching there in March, 1837, expecting to obtain recognition as Administrator-Apostolic.

But Boyer remained inflexible in his resolution not to admit any ecclesiastical official whose appointment depended solely on the Holy See and who should not first have taken the oath of obedience and submission to the laws of the republic. The repeated efforts on the part of Bishop England to secure recognition and the fact that he was in no way identified with the country or the people over whom he sought to exercise authority and the enlargement of his powers on the occasion of each of his visits to Rome rather strengthened Boyer in his determination not to receive the Bishop and the latter was compelled most reluctantly after four years of work to abandon his mission and he returned to Charleston.

No further effort seems to have been made to accommodate the differences between Church and State until January, 1842, four years later, when Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis, Missouri, then on his way from Rome to his newly erected diocese, reached Puerto Principe bearing his credentials as Delegate-Apostolic to the Republic of Haiti empowered to adjust the relations of that State with the Holy See. Political disturbances had then recently arisen rendering Boyer's hold on the government somewhat less secure and Boyer regarded this visit of the new delegate not only as an expression of the interest taken by the Holy See in the spiritual welfare of the Catholics in the Republic, but also as a mark of confidence in the government of which he was the head. He at once appointed commissioners to treat with the delegate, the same men with whom Bishop England had previously dealt. Bishop Rosati appeared to be willing to yield some of the points which Bishop England had refused to concede and the negotiations progressed so favorably that within a month (February, 1842) an agreement was reached settling the terms

on which ecclesiastical government should be re-established in Haiti. But this arrangement was regarded by both sides as only of a provisional character and not to be effective until after it should be approved at Rome. To this end Boyer agreed to send two plenipotentiaries to Rome during the course of that year and Bishop Rosati having brought the negotiations to this point, returned to this country.

Boyer never permitted his plenipotentiaries to leave Haiti and when pressed to carry out his engagement with Bishop Rosati by sending them over to Rome and authorizing them to sign the terms agreed upon he answered substantially that although the concordat was a very desirable thing, yet he considered it inopportune to enter into it at that time. Doubtless Boyer foresaw the political storm which was gathering and he feared that if a concordat were proclaimed, that fact might strengthen the cause of the revolutionists. Within a year another revolution actually did break out. Boyer was driven from office, fled the country and took up his residence in Jamaica, where he died.

At last, under the Presidency of Fabre Geffrard, an understanding was arrived at between the Holy See and the Republic of Haiti in the form of a concordat signed March 28, 1860, at Rome, by His Eminence Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State to his Holiness Pius IX, and Pierre Faubert, the Haitian Minister to the Vatican. Shortly afterwards it was ratified by the President of the republic and sanctioned by its Senate at Port-au-Prince, August 1, 1860.

By this instrument it was provided (Article I) that "The Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, which is the religion of the great majority of the Haitians, shall be specially protected as well as its ministers in the Republic of Haiti; and shall enjoy all the rights and attributes thereto appertaining;* nevertheless

[*"La Réligion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine qui est la réligion de la grande majorité des Haitiens sera spécialment protegée ainsi que ses ministres dans la république d'Haiti et jouira des droits et attributs qui lui sont propres."

[*Recueil des traités et conventions de la république d'Haiti par M. Jacques Nicolas Léger, Port-au-Prince,* 1891.]

under article 22 of the present constitution of the Republic all religions are equally tolerated.

It was arranged that an archbishopric should be erected at Port-au-Prince and that other dioceses should be established as soon as conveniently could be done. The government agreed to grant and maintain an allowance to the archbishop and bishops out of the public funds for their support. With respect to the appointment of these ecclesiastical officials Article 4 declared that,

"The President of Haiti shall enjoy the privilege of nominating such archbishops and bishops, and if the Holy See shall find that they possess the qualifications required by the Sacred Canons it shall grant them canonical institution."*

No ecclesiastic named for any of these offices was to be permitted to exercise his ministry before receiving canonical institution and on the other hand in case the Holy See should decline to confer such institution its refusal was to be notified to the President of the Republic, who thereupon would name another candidate. Finally before entering upon the exercise of their ministry all archbishops and bishops were required to take an oath of allegiance to the government in the following form:

"I swear and promise Almighty God on His Holy Gospels, as is becoming to a bishop, that I will observe obedience and fidelity to the government established by the Constitution of Haiti, and that I will not either directly or indirectly do anything which may be contrary to the rights and interest of the Republic."†

And the same oath was required of all vicars-general, curés and other ecclesiastical persons exercising any religious ministry in the Republic.

While the general principles of the agreement were thus set-

[*"4. Le President d'Haiti jouira du privilége de nommer des Archévêques et des Evequês et si le Saint Siége leur trouve les qualités réquises par les Saints Canons il leur donnéra l'institution canonique." Id., p. 60.]

[†"Je jure et prométs a Dieu sur les Saintes Evangiles comme il convient a un évêque de garder obéissance et fidélité au gouvernement établi par la Constitution d'Haiti et de ne rien entreprendre ni directément ni indirectément qui soit contraire aux droits et aux intéréts de la République." Id., p. 6.]

tled various details remained to be arranged and on February 6, 1861, following the visit of Mgr. Jean Monetti as Legate-Apostolic to the Republic a supplemental agreement was made and this was followed by another under date of June 17, 1862, entered into by Mgr. Testard du Cosquer as Delegate-Apostolic.*

These two conventions determined the relations between the civil and the ecclesiastical authority in the State, specified what bishoprics should be erected and their limits, and provided that the various dioceses and parishes should correspond in number and in their respective limits with the civil *départèments* and *communes;* the appointment of vicars-general and curés was limited to such persons as should be acceptable to the President of the republic and, what was of importance, the amounts to be paid by the State to the various ecclesiastical personages were fixed. Thus there was allowed to the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince an annual stipend of 20,000 francs; to each of the two bishops of Cap Haitien and Cayes 12,000 francs, besides certain expenses of their installation, including travel from Europe and an annual payment of 4,000 francs to each for the expenses of his pastoral visitations (*tournée*); to the grand-vicaire, who was to administer another diocese which was without a bishop 4,000 francs and 3,000 francs to each of the other grand-vicaires; in addition, a house suitably furnished was to be provided for each of these officials. Each member of the clergy in Haiti was entitled to receive an annual stipend (*traitement*) of 1200 francs besides a fixed allowance for his outfit (*trousseau*) and voyage from Europe. Various sums were allotted for the maintenance of a *Petit Séminaire* and of its director and his assistants, including the support and education at the *Grand Séminaire* in France of twenty Haitian youths destined for the ministry in their own country.

An examination of these several documents shows that the famous concordat of 1802 between Pope Pius VII and Napoleon

[*For the text of these two supplemental agreements see Leger, *Recueil*, etc. (*Supra*), pp. 69 and 72.]

as First Consul served as the model for this later convention with the little Black Republic. In each case provisions substantially alike are found respecting the important points of the nomination and institution of archbishops and bishops, the appointment of the inferior clergy and the support of all these ecclesiastics by the State conditioned upon their taking the prescribed civil oath. President Boyer in his contest with Bishop England in 1834, to which we have already referred, did not ask for more than seems actually to have been conceded by the concordat as finally agreed on. Doubtless the many revolutions through which the country had passed and the disorders and excesses amounting oftentimes to anarchy which marked the frequent changes in the government and the deplorable state of religion must have induced the Holy See compassionately to yield to the extent it did in the hope that with the restoration of the hierarchy peaceful and stable government would be established and the foundation laid for the revival of religion and morality among a people who, although professedly Catholic, had been carried almost beyond the influence of all moral or religious teaching.

It is not to be supposed that the business of the concordat was concluded without opposition. The tendency to insubordination and to rebellion against all form of authority whether civil or ecclesiastical, an inheritance from the revolutionary period, could not be overcome at once by any diplomatic agreement, no matter how wisely contrived, and the infidel and irreligious element in the colony maintained an opposition to every effort to restore religion and thereby to subject themselves to the restraints of civilization and of law and order.

The failure of Bishop England's mission gave satisfaction to the irresponsible clergy then in Haiti. Later on, they, and their adherents, were able to prevail on Boyer to put off the execution of the concordat which had been arranged with Bishop Rosati and when Archbishop Testard du Cosquer, the first incumbent of the See of Port-au-Prince, assumed the duties of his office, he

met with such unexpected opposition that in June, 1867, he left the country greatly discouraged and died shortly afterwards at Rome. (See Le Ruzic *Documents,* p. 218). Before this, however, many of the schismatic priests had submitted to the authority of the new bishops. Others of them had left the island.

Mgr. du Cosquer was succeeded in 1870 by Mgr. Alexis Guilloux, who had been his vicar-general and who took up the work of his predecessor with great zeal and energy. Geffrard, under whose presidency the concordat was signed, abdicated in 1865 in face of a revolution against him, and retired to Jamaica. For a time the disorderly element ruled. His successor, Soulnave, in 1869, assuming the powers of a Dictator, disputed the right of Archbishop Guilloux to act as such in Haiti. He declared the concordat suspended; undertook to annul various provisions which had been put into effect, and promulgated other decrees hostile to the Church. His oppression of the mulattoes and the excesses which he committed brought about his speedy overthrow. After less than three years he was driven from power. As he sought to escape from the country he was captured and brought back to Port-au-Prince and there, after a summary trial, was condemned and suffered death for treason.

Peace prevailed until the installation of another president, Michael Domingue, in 1874, when disputes arose over a new proposed constitution designed to enlarge the participation of the State in the government of the Church. These difficulties were gradually overcome so that since that time, although there have been changes in the heads of government, some of them preceded by revolution, these outbreaks have gradually diminished in number and have been attended with less violence. Since 1885 the relations between the Church and the State have been almost without exception peaceful and amicable.

While the financial support accorded to the Church was on a moderate, if not meagre scale (the clergy receiving a per capita allowance of only $18.75 per month), yet even this slight provi-

sion showed that the civil rulers have been sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the people by restoring the practice of religion and have been intelligent enough to realize that the surest guaranty of a wise and stable civil government was the establishment and support of legitimate ecclesiastical government.

Although the stipulated payments have at times been postponed on account of the disarrangement of public affairs due to the change of rulers, and have likewise been postponed for want of money in the treasury, yet it should be said in justice to Haiti that the obligation has never been repudiated and that the payments have been substantially met and the annual financial budgets show that they are still being provided for.

The archiepiscopal See of Port-au-Prince is now filled by the Most Reverend Julien Conan, who also governs the Diocese of Gonaives. The See of Cap Haitien by the Right Reverend François Marie Kersuzan, acting likewise as administrator of the Diocese of Port de Paix, and that of Cayes by the Right Reverend Ignace Marie Le Ruzic. In these dioceses there have been established one hundred and three parishes, nearly all of which are served by resident priests. Besides the parish churches about four hundred chapels have been erected in districts remote from the churches. It is needless to say how poor and humble these churches and chapels must be.

In 1864 when the first Archbishop arrived he brought with him a number of missionary priests who had come, most of them, from Brittany. With these came a number of Fathers of the Holy Ghost and of the Holy Heart of Mary. Together they began the arduous work of re-establishing religion on its legitimate basis. Some of the latter had come over in 1861 when the concordat seemed assured, and had taken charge of the little seminary and college, besides serving various parishes in Haiti. Meanwhile, agreeably to the terms of the concordat, the Archbishop had taken steps to establish the *Grand Séminaire* for the Haitian youth destined to labor as

priests among their countrymen in Haiti, and established such a seminary at Paris, from whence it was afterwards transferred to Finistere.

In 1864 a company of Brothers of Christian Instruction came over and established themselves in Haiti, as did also a company of Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, who besides conducting an orphanage and two hospitals have also in their charge many schools. In 1871 the Fathers of the Company of Mary arrived and entered upon parochial and mission work. All these priests, and religious men and women, were volunteers for the work to which they have devoted themselves in Haiti. All of them, as well as their bishops, came from France, most of them from Brittany, from Nantes, Vannes, Rennes and other places in the neighborhood of the historic Loire. The list of the places of origin of most of these self-sacrificing bishops and priests and religious men and women recalls the great struggles throughout Brittany and La Vendée by the ancestors of these same religious in resisting the ferocious attempts to destroy religion made by the French revolutionists at that time and of the cruel deaths which so many thousands of them suffered for the faith during the Reign of Terror.

The progress made by the Church cannot be exhibited better than by presenting the few statistics below showing the condition of the Church in Haiti in January, 1917, being the latest date for which the figures are available to us. We take these figures from the *Bulletin Réligieux d'Haiti,* published by authority at Port-au-Prince, for the ecclesiastical Province of Haiti:

Total Population (about) 1,965,500

Dioceses	Estimated Population
(1) Archdiocese of Port-au-Prince	720,000
(2) Diocese of Cap Haitien	406,000
(3) Diocese of Cayes	521,000
(4) Diocese of Gonaives	245,000
(5) Diocese of Port de Paix	73,000

Clergy and Religious Congregations	
Members present or absent temporarily	668
Consisting of	
(1) Secular Clergy	175
(2) Congregation of the Holy Ghost and of the Heart of Mary Immaculate (priests and Brothers)	32
(3) Company of Mary (priests and Brothers)	19
(4) Brothers of Christian Instruction	63
(5) Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny	171
(6) Daughters of Wisdom	203
(7) Daughters of Mary	7
Educational Establishments	51
Hospitals, Asylums, Etc	12
Grand Seminary (Provincial)	1

Much has been written concerning the political and commercial history of Haiti and the character of the people has been exhibited by some writers in a very unfavorable light. The partisans of the planters who lost their property in the insurrections over a century ago could not be expected to speak or write kindly of the character of the colored people who were struggling with the problem of self-government, nor the champions of annexation whose project failed as described by us in a preceding chapter; neither could a friendly judgment be expected from the foreign creditors whose claims were contested as usurious or otherwise excessive and afterwards reduced; nor yet again from the spokesmen for other nations, owning large territory in the West Indies, governed by white men and having a negro and mulatto population which they desired should not emigrate to Haiti.

We might enumerate books and their authors who have condemned Haitian civilization as "a ridiculous caricature" (See Froude's *English in the West Indies*) and the people as "in a state of rapid decadence" and without any future (See St. John's *Haiti, or the Black Republic.*) But these are extreme and exaggerated opinions from unfrienlly sources, formed in earlier

days and before the labors of the bishops and clergy in the cause of religion and civilization had begun to show their results.

Undoubtedly the African negroes imported in the slave ships down to the time of the Revolution were addicted to voudouxism and other heathenish practices which they brought with them from their native soil, to witchcraft, and to various forms of licentiousness; but to assume that now, after three generations have passed, these savage traits have survived so that they remain a characteristic of the Haitian people is not only improbable, but is contradicted by the testimony of all fair minded observers.

That the evil has not been wholly eradicated should not occasion surprise. Notwithstanding our own much-vaunted civilization voodoo-doctors were to be found, until quite recently, in various cities in the South plying their trade in the supernatural among the negro population, and the growing number of addicts to spiritism to be found throughout the country argues the moral as well as the intellectual decadence of its devotees.

In 1887-8 Mr. Robert T. Hill, a non-Catholic, then attached to the United States Geological Survey, whose work we have cited on a preceding page, visited Haiti and studied its people and their condition. His work bears the impress of fairness and impartiality. After taking into account all the accusations made against the Haitian people he wrote (p. 267):

"From 1804 to the present time the moral welfare of Haiti has been largely neglected by other nations and peoples who have extended to it neither sympathy, recognition nor aid. It was not until 1862 that the Senate of the United States, on the recommendation of President Lincoln, voted to recognize its political independence; and the Concordat with the Pope in 1869 (1860) whereby the Catholic Church undertook missionary work on the island is the only spiritual assistance of any kind it has received. * * *

"The Government of Haiti has always manifested a com-

mendable concern for the education of the youth of the country and to that end has never ceased to encourage the establishment of schools. There has been a steady tendency towards increased educational facilities at public expense. It is believed that no less than five thousand Haitian girls are (1889) being educated under the care of the Sisters of the Roman Church." (p. 268.)

Further on in summing up his views he says (p. 282):

"Judged by the standards of the more advanced white races the Haitians are very backward, but compared with other purely negro countries it must be admitted that they are far above their race in general.

"After studying the Haitian people, their institutions and the criticisms of others upon them, it is our opinion that they represent the most advanced negro government in the world, and as crude as they appear to us and as far below the standards of the Caucasian race, they have in the face of the bitterest oppression, both from without and within, virtually lifted themselves by their bootstraps out of the depths of African savagery into at least a crude condition of culture having the outward semblance of civilization. Whatever success they have attained has been solely by their own unaided efforts. The Christian world, which looked with horror on the institution of slavery and cried loudly for its abolition, neglected this self-emancipated people when they most needed its help and aid. * * * Whatever may be said against the Haitians, it should be remembered that these people nearly a century ago instituted the movement which, ending in Brazil in 1860, resulted in driving the institution of slavery from the Western hemisphere." (p. 288.)

Since this was written the work of the bishops and clergy and of the religious of the various Orders in Haiti has been steadily kept up and has produced abundant fruit in advancing the moral welfare of the people and the education of their children. But this work has involved great privations and hardship and sacrifice. Due to the change of climate and mode of living

and to the incessant hours of labor more than three hundred priests and religious laboring in Haiti have died or become incapacitated since the Church was rehabilitated in 1864. Their successors who now represent the cause of religion and civilization are entitled to our sympathy and support, both moral and material, in their efforts to continue the good work of those who have gone before them.

The participation of our government in the civil affairs of the Haitian people under the Convention described in our Chapter I has already proved of great help in maintaining peace and order throughout the country. Revolutions such as formerly occurred are now practically impossible. The country is safe from the results of outside attack or interference. An honest administration of the finances is secured and the way is open for the economic progress and development of the country to the full extent of which its people may be capable. But the safety and best interests of the State require in addition that licentiousness and immorality, whether in the practise of voudouxism or witchcraft or in whatever other form it may appear, be rigorously suppressed and the police power of our officials may well be exerted in that direction to its fullest extent. With these hindrances removed, the moral progress of the people will be made easier, religion will regain its sway and the aspirations of the Haitian people for a secure and prosperous system of self-government will be fully realized.

A ROMAN CONSUL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Fanny Morton Peck

The broad highways of history are much trodden thoroughfares. Men delight in their pleasant evenness and their well-regulated grades. The passing panorama may be enjoyed for the effort of beholding it, and the way is beguiled by the congenial companionship of one's fellow students. But history is as broad as the world, and, like the world, has its branch roads and its lanes and by-paths. Many of the intellectually curious wander into those which diverge from the highway and penetrate for some little space into the unknown territory, but the greater the distance from the main road, the fewer become the wanderers, and there are shady foot-paths where one is often quite alone, and where the trees are as beautiful, the brooks as limpid and the skies as blue as any beheld by the travelers who prefer the thoroughfare. It is to share in the pleasant reaches of one of these unfrequented lanes that the student of American Catholic history is invited on this occasion.

The Catholic history of America begins with our country's discovery by Columbus, and since, has grown with its growth and flourished with its prosperity. With the foundation of the colony of Maryland and its subsequent development, the Church in the United States emerged, as it were, from its early missionary status and became firmly established. By the year 1800 we see a small body of clergy, fifty in number, doing admirable work in various parishes and mission stations, chiefly among the Irish, French and Germans. Italian immigration had not even begun at this time, the United States having given admission to only about four thousand Italians up to 1850. However, a fair number of citizens of the Pontifical States must have

come over, for about the year 1800, Pius VII decided to send a representative to the United States for the protection of their interests. His choice fell on Giovanni Battista Sartori, the subject of this paper, the first Papal Consul in America.

I

The name Sartori was known in Italy as far back as 1295. In an unpublished book describing the town of Bassano, and preserved there, occurs the following: "In the year 1295, the Bishop of Florence, Andrea Mozzi, was transferred by Pope Boniface VIII to the vacant see of Vicenza, and granted to a certain Sartori, one of his suite, a *feudo* of that bishopric existing in Roana, who, as vassal, preserved it, and it was afterwards possessed by his family under the Bishop's successors." A note adds: "Perhaps the distinguished families of the Sartoris of Roana, of San Pietro, and elsewhere, are descended from them." The book further mentions that the Sartoris came originally from Florence, where they occupied an honorable position prior to 1295. Other members of the family were prominent in Vicenza and owners of much property in the environs of that city, which was later sold to the municipality.

The earliest definite information that we have of the present family comes from the archives of the city of Milan, and gives an example of the changes in surnames which is one of the greatest stumbling-blocks of the genealogist. For in Milan we find that the name became Satori, and that a certain bearer of it, having left the land of his fathers, settled in Switzerland. Here was born the grandfather of Giovanni Battista Sartori, and the records tell us that he was a baron and a civil magistrate. Baron Satori's eldest son, Carlo, removed to Milan early in life and became an expert in gold and silver work.

We next hear of him in Rome, in 1788, as Pontifical Jeweler and trusted friend of Pius VI, who once more changed the family name to Sartori. It was in Rome that Carlo's eldest son, Giovanni Battista, was born. His love for the place of his birth

CARLO SARTORI

G. B. SARTORI

MRS. G. B. SARTORI

never waned; the fact that he was a Roman remaining his proudest boast through life. The work of Carlo Sartori in Rome in his official position won him fame as an artist, and many of the pontifical jewels, notably those of the four historical tiaras of Julius II, Paul III, Clement VIII and Urban VIII, were reset by him in intricate patterns, demonstrating alike his taste and his skill.

These were disastrous days for the Papacy, and Carlo Sartori and his son shared to the full in all the trials and sorrow of Pius VI. During the unquiet days that followed the French Revolution, the relations between the Holy See and the new republic were strained to the breaking point, and when Basseville, the French attaché, was murdered at Rome, through no fault of the Papal Government, the States of the Church were attacked by Napoleon. At the Truce of Bologna, 1796, the terms laid down by Bonaparte were unjust in the extreme, among them being a tax of 21,000,000 francs. By the Peace of Tolentino in the following year, Pius VI was obliged to surrender Avignon, Venaissins, the Romagna, Ferrara and Bologna, and deliver to Napoleon 15,000,000 francs and numerous manuscripts and works of art.

To meet this enormous levy, the Pontiff was obliged to dispose of most of his jewels, and to Carlo Sartori fell the work of taking apart, one after another, various masterpieces of the goldsmith's art belonging to the Papal treasury, many of which were his own handiwork, thus making ready the jewels and precious metals for more convenient sale. When the unjust accusation was made against the Pope that he had exaggerated the worth of the jewels, which Sartori and three other renowned Italian jewellers had estimated to be worth 285,885 scudi, he determined upon a policy of conciliation to bring the unfortunate controversy to a close. Giovanni Battista Sartori, by this time an expert in matters of business and finance, was despatched successively to Milan, Modena and Genoa to effect a settlement with

the appraisers by adding to those already in their hands jewels worth about 5,000,000 scudi.

A small ivory box of dainty workmanship containing a gold toothpick, given by Napoleon to Sartori, was inherited by his daughter Eugenia and is now in possession of her grandchildren. Very likely the occasion of its presentation was none other than that related above, the First Consul's tribute, perhaps, to the address and discretion of the young envoy.

But the Pope was fighting a treacherous foe. The death of General Duphot, in an endeavor to stir up rebellion in Rome, brought the French armies to its gates, and, in February, 1798, a Roman Republic was declared. Significant of the high standing of Carlo Sartori is the fact that he was one of the hostages demanded by Berthier when that general began the invasion of Rome. Protesting against the seizure of his kingdom, Pius VI was taken prisoner, hurried to Siena and then to Florence, and the following year, having been carried from city to city in a dying condition, he finally expired at Valence.

The devotion of the Sartoris to the Papacy in no wise abated upon the accession to the Throne of Peter of Cardinal Chiaramonti, crowned as Pope Pius VII at Venice, March 21, 1800. In looking about for some one to represent the States of the Church in America, it was but natural that the Pope should call upon his faithful adherent, Giovanni Battista Sartori, who had already given proof under his predecessor of his qualifications. A collection of five silver medals, such as have been from time to time given by the popes to eminent laymen, and which were presented to him by Pope Pius VII, proves the high regard in which he was held by that Pontiff. These medals are now in possession of his heirs.

II

About the year 1800, therefore, Giovanni Battista Sartori arrived in America and established himself at Trenton, New

Jersey. An interesting bit of past history is one of his visiting cards, which is still preserved by his descendants, and which reads:

Il Console Generale Pontificio
GIOVANNI BATTISTA SARTORI
Presso Gli Stati Uniti D'America
Residente in Trenton, N. G.

To those of his fellow countrymen who had come out to the United States, and for whose information the card was printed, the State of his adoption was undoubtedly "New Gersey," but the abbreviation employed by Sartori on his card will doubtless puzzle the native born American, to whom we make this explanation, lest he be misled regarding the new Consul's sentiments towards his city of residence.

That Sartori returned to Italy at least once during the next four years seems evident. His duties as Consul did not prohibit him from engaging in business, and we learn that the enterprising young Italian established at Trenton the first spaghetti factory in the United States. Moreover, he introduced into the State, according to Hewitt's *Historic Trenton* (p. 16), the manufacture of calico, erecting a factory for this purpose in 1817. It was worked by hand and stood at the foot of Federal Street on the Delaware. Regarding his activities as Pontifical Consul, little information is available, but if we are to judge from what we know of his previous and subsequent career, we can take fully for granted that the clear-headed, true-hearted Roman was a representative worthy in every respect of the eminent Pontiff whose interests had been entrusted to him.

Mr. Sartori's mission to the United States dealt purely with matters temporal, but his was a character that found a mission wherever there was good to be done. The lack of spiritual advantages which he found in Trenton was doubtless a great trial to his ardent Catholicism, and we may believe that, at an early date, he set to work to do what he could, although a foreigner,

to bring about a different state of affairs, and to procure for the Catholics of the town those comforts and advantages which should be theirs by right as sons of Holy Mother Church.

"Patrick Colvin," says the late John D. McCormack, editor of the *Potter's Journal,* "is the only Catholic I can find living about Trenton at the time of the Revolution. He was a member of Father Farmer's flock. He often entertained that great missionary under his hospitable roof and also ferried him over the river into New Jersey on his numerous journeyings to New York (*American Cath. Hist. Researches,* Jan., 1887, p. 25).

Colvin owned and ran the ferry over the Delaware at the point where Washington crossed after the battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776.

It is impossible to record the date of the first Mass said in the city of Trenton. No doubt the Jesuit missionary Father Farmer called there during his trips through New Jersey and New York. According to Shea, the saying of the first Mass was as early as 1799, the celebrant being Father D. Boury, of Philadelphia. At all events, some kind of Catholic organization seems to have been attempted in, or before, the year 1803, for there is a letter extant from Bishop Carroll to James Barry, Esq., dated September 8, 1803, of which the following is an extract:

"Next Monday, 12th, I will leave this place (Philadelphia) for the neighborhood of New York. The devil is always busy to raise obstacles in my way. He or his agent has made a disturbance at Trenton, where I did not expect any business, which will perhaps cause me some delay, so that I expect to cross Hobuck Ferry before Wednesday." (Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll,* p. 508.)

The first definite account, however, of Catholic services being held in Trenton places the event in the office, at the corner of Queen and Second Streets (now State and Broad), of Isaac Collins, a printer, publisher of the Trenton *Gazette,* who must, by the way, have done a thriving business in his time, to judge

by the frequency with which we find his name appended to publications of the period. This was in 1804, the year of Sartori's marriage, but if he was in any way instrumental in this historic occurrence, we have no information regarding it. Mass was said by "a missionary," probably one of the Augustinians from Philadelphia, who had been established in the United States in 1799, and the subject of his sermon was "Devotion to the Blessed Virgin." From 1804 until 1811, the records are silent. What efforts, successful or otherwise, were made during this period by the Irish printer, or by the Italian Papal Consul, to found a Catholic church in Trenton, we have no means of knowing, but it is hardly probable that nothing was done, or, if this were indeed the case, it can be explained by the fact that the clergy were relatively too few in number for the enormous territory to be administered. In all probability, the Augustinians of Philadelphia gave their services from time to time whenever possible.

However, we know that in 1811, Mass was said in Sartori's house on Federal Street by Father Matthew Carr, O. S. A., and again by a Father Michael Hurley of the same Order. Just how often the Catholics of Trenton had the good fortune of assisting at divine service during the years that followed is uncertain, but Sartori's house was always at their disposal for the purpose as often as a priest could be procured. In 1813, Father William Vincent Harold, O. P., of Philadelphia, seems to have ministered to the spiritual wants of the faithful.

These were now increasing in numbers, there being about thirty families of French, German and Irish Catholics, and, in the following year, 1814, Sartori and Captain John Hargous, formerly of the French Navy but apparently at that time living in Trenton, purchased a lot at the corner of Lamberton and Market Streets, where a brick church, called in *Historic Trenton* St. John's Chapel of West New Jersey, was erected. The *Catholic Directory* for 1824, without giving its name, says it was "attended by the Rev. Mr. Doyle," but the *Directory* for 1834

calls it St. John's, which disposes of the statements in some current histories that the first Trenton church was put under the patronage of St. Francis. The original edifice was blessed, with the graveyard, by the Right Reverend Michael Egan, Bishop of Philadelphia, in 1814. The plan of the façade, sketched on a sheet of paper, dated 1812, with specifications thereon for "150 water table briks (sic), 4000 best briks for the front," is now in the possession of the LeBarbier family.

St. John's was used by the Catholics of Trenton until 1846. Up to about 1830, it was attended from Philadelphia, but in that year Father Geoghan became resident pastor, remaining at his post for two years, until ill-health forced him to relinquish it. Whether the duties of pastor in Trenton were particularly onerous, or those named for the post were men of exceptionally delicate health, the fact remains that the church had no less than seven parish priests in succession between 1832 and 1844. In that year, Father Mackin took charge of St. John's, but two years later, owing to the increasing number of Catholics, the pastor and his congregation moved to the large brick church which he recently had completed on Broad Street, and which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The present Church of the Sacred Heart, built in 1890, now stands on the site.

At the time of its closing, St. John's Chapel was heavily in debt. Shortly after, in 1851, Peter Amédée Hargous, son of Captain John Hargous and son-in-law of Sartori, paid the debt, bought the church, and presented it to Bishop Bayley of Newark, who constituted it a German parish under the patronage of St. Francis. The first pastor under the new conditions was Father Gmeiner, who undertook his new charge June 23, 1853, but he was transferred to the West three years later, to be succeeded by Father Anton Muller, O. M. Cap. He returned, however, in 1859, remaining pastor until 1865. In that year, or thereabouts, the congregation removed to the present Church of St. Francis of Assisi on West Front and Willow Streets.

We can thus claim for Giovanni Battista Sartori the honor of being the lay founder of the Church in Trenton, a Good Samaritan in very deed, whose own field for the accomplishment of good was not of sufficient proportions to satisfy his zeal for God's glory. In the city of his adoption, thirteen churches have replaced St. John's Chapel. It is the see city of a diocese where two hundred and thirteen priests do the work begun by an Augustinian missionary, and the thirty foreign families have grown to a flourishing population of 170,000 Catholics.

III

In the year 1804, Sartori met and married Henriette de Woofoin, a young woman whose romantic history is enthralling in its interest. Descended from a noble family of Brittany, Henriette Madeleine l'Officiale de Woofoin was the granddaughter of Louis Gaston de Woofoin, "Seigneur de Woofoin, Laborde, Haute Ousine, Ladoche, Vaulousier, de Dixmont et autres lieux," and his wife Marguerite de Barrault. The de Woofoins were connected with the families of Chateaubriand, La Rochefoucauld, de Luines, and claimed descent from Gaston de Foix. Another connection of the family was the Rochambeau, whose name is so dear to all Americans for his share in the achievement of their independence. In his time, however, despite his titles, the family of the Seigneur no longer enjoyed great eminence, owing to losses of fortune, and, after a short time spent at the court of Louis XVI, we see his son, the young Chevalier Marie Basil Gaston de Woofoin, born at Mens (Mantes?), near Paris, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the father of Henriette, leaving France for Santo Domingo in an official capacity. He established himself in Haiti, and in 1777 married a young creole lady belonging to a Spanish family of distinction, Marie Anne Françoise Salenare, daughter of Francisco Salenare and his wife Marie Françoise Casselle. The last named married after her husband's death Jean Lefebvre Dufossé de Leu.

The Chevalier's fortunes had in the meantime prospered, and

he had become the father of two children, a boy, and a girl, Henriette, born in 1787. Three years later, just before the negro rising in the French section of the Island, Madame de Woofoin died, and Henriette was sent to Paris to be educated under the guardianship of a relative, the Duchess de Gramont. Her short sojourn in Paris remained indelibly impressed on her memory, and in after life she loved to entertain her daughters with her recollections of the court of Marie Antoinette.

But America and not France was destined to be her home, for, at the outbreak of the French Revolution shortly after, Henriette, with others of royalist sympathies, was forced to flee the country. Lamberton, New Jersey, now part of Trenton, became the temporary home of the exiles, and here Henriette was found by her father, the Chevalier de Woofoin, who, with his son, had escaped to Philadelphia from Haiti and its savage blacks with the remnants of his fortune. A fine colonial residence was purchased from a Mr. Cox at South Trenton, and several years were passed by the family in a welcome tranquillity, in peaceful contrast to the upheavals, social and domestic, in which its various members had played so mournful a part.

The home of the de Woofoins, however, was not long to endure. The Chevalier, in the hope of regaining some of his property in Haiti, decided to return thither with his son, but the happy chance that had helped them to make good their escape from the revolutionaries of 1791 now deserted them, and through misunderstanding or mischance, father and son were murdered by the negro population. Thus ended the old de Woofoin family. A distant connection, a prince, still lives in Brittany.

After the death of her father and brother, Henriette remained at South Trenton, where, in 1804, at the age of seventeen, she married Giovanni Battista Sartori, lately returned from Italy. This fact is vouched for by the following record from the marriage register of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia:

"Sartori—Woofouin, 1804, March 8, by Fr. Stafford, O. S. A.,

The Hargous Residence

The Sartori Mansion

at Lamberton, N. J., John Baptist Sartori (Italian) to Mary M. Henriette l'Official de Woofouin, born in Hispaniola (St. Domingo) of Maria Basil l'Official and N. Salnave; the witnesses were N. Belleville (?), Rostignol de Grandmont, LeGrand Dulteuil and Louis Rostignol."

That accuracy was not the strong point of marriage records in those days is amply borne out by the above notice, which, however, loses none of its interest as a historical document thereby.

Property was acquired by Sartori on the Delaware River, near Lamberton, on what was soon to be Federal Street, now part of Trenton. Here at Rosy Hill, as it was charmingly called, Mr. and Mrs. Sartori began their married life. Here also their children were born and spent their childhood, amid surroundings which, if tinged with sorrow, were nevertheless an ideal setting and one to which they looked back in after years with ever growing joy and appreciation. For the Sartoris enjoyed the society and friendship of that distinguished colony of European refugees to whom America offered an asylum in the early years of the nineteenth century. Bordentown, Trenton and its former suburb Lamberton are filled with memories of Joseph Bonaparte, sometime King of Spain, and of General Jean Victor Moreau. The escapades of Prince Napoleon Murat, son of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, and Caroline, sister of Napoleon, are celebrated, not without an affectionate tolerance, in the writings of the period. He was everlastingly in debt with every tradesman in Trenton, and his elopement from Bordentown with Miss Frazer, a Charleston beauty, whom he married in St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Trenton, caused no small stir at the time of its occurrence. He returned to Europe in 1848. (*Historic Trenton.*)

Life on the banks of the Delaware proved a restful interlude in the lives of these gentlemen in distress and war-worn veterans, and the old world hospitality and sympathetic companionship which they exchanged doubtless helped them to forget for the

moment the dire events of the past and the future heavy with menace. Shortly after the occupation of Rosy Hill by the Sartoris, General Moreau built on the opposite shore of the river at Morrisville (1805). It is said that this site was much desired at a later period by Joseph Bonaparte, who was greatly disappointed at his inability to procure it, but who eventually rented "Bow Hill" from Barnet de Klyn, where he remained until his return to France in 1830. This house, built shortly after the Revolution, is still in possession of the family of the original owner. The kindly presence and noble character of Bonaparte, this "King of a Day," whose qualities would have made him a man of mark if his personality had not been obscured by the genius of his younger brother, as well as the eminence of his former position, doubtless made him by all odds the central figure of the little colony at the time that he formed part of it. There is a tradition among the descendants of the Papal Consul that Bonaparte was godfather to one of Sartori's children, but it stops there and does not give the name of the fortunate baby.

There is no doubt, however, of the fact that the godmother of Eugenia Victorine Sartori was Madame Moreau, nor of the intimate friendship existing between the Sartoris and General Moreau and his wife. It was in 1804, after his condemnation by Napoleon's government, that the brilliant General came to pass the years of his exile in America. C. C. Haven, writing much later in one of the Trenton newspapers, gives us the following picture of the Moreau of those days:

"A greater and nobler personage (than Murat) might often be met with crossing over the then new Delaware Bridge leading into Trenton, in sportsman garb or apparelled like a French gentleman of the old school, the great General Moreau, living then at Morrisville. He was once the rival in arms of Napoleon, a victim of ambitious jealousy and afterwards a martyr to his country."

One of the famous hosts of that period was Colonel Dicken-

son, who lived at "The Hermitage," which had been built by the Rutherfords, and the main part of which still stands. Here many celebrities were entertained, and here, we are told, "Madame Moreau, the beautiful Parisian, displayed her wonderful pearls and played the harp to select audiences." A letter to Sartori, in Moreau's handwriting, is treasured by the former's great granddaughters, and gives an insight into the cordial relations existing between the two families:

"New York, le 21 9bre, 1807.

"Mon cher Monsieur Sartori:

"J'ai reçu la dernière lettre que vous m'avez fait l'amitié de m'écrire. Notre projet de voyage chez vous était d'abord arrêté pour la fin de la semaine où nous entrons, et nous espérions passer une quinzaine avec vous. Mais une circonstance dont nous vous ferons part nous privera du plaisir d'un assez long séjour et nous force à hater notre depart. Il aura lieu mercredi matin de Bergen Point, et nous ferons en sorte d'arriver chez vous le même soir, ou, au plus tard, jeudi matin. Il faut absolument que nous soyons de retour chez nous dimanche soir, ainsi nous ne pourrons rester avec vous que les trois derniers jours de la semaine.

"Nous espérons trouver toute votre famille en bonne santé, et surtout votre nouvelle née.* Je vous prie de croire qu'il n'y a qu' une raison bien majeure qui nous a forcés à changer notre premier plan, que nous avions tant de plaisir à projeter.

"Je m'empresse de vous prévenir de cette contrariété pour que vous priiez Mr. Care de se trouver avec vous jeudi, vendredi ou samedi prochain.

"Mon épouse prie Madame Sartori de recevoir l'expression de son amitié. Veuillez bien également lui faire agréer mes hommages et croire à l'estime et au sincère attachement de

"Votre dévoué serviteur,

"V. Moreau."

*Eugenia Victorine, born August 10, 1807.

Another bit of interesting domestic history is a physician's account with Moreau's household, which may be quoted in full:

"General Moreau

"To Doc. Belleville, Dr.

"To medicine and attendance to General Moreau's family during the year 1809..... is 38 dollars.
"To medicine and attendance to his family during the year 1810 ..... is 41 dollars.
"To medicine and attendance to his family during the year 1811 ..... is 86 dollars."

In noting the increasing amount of the charges, the question arises whether the health of the Moreaus became impaired with each year spent in their new surroundings, or whether the doctor, flushed with his professional success, raised the amount of his fees. We of to-day, struggling with dizzily mounting prices, can sympathize with the General and his problems of 1811. Two years later he returned to Europe, to be wounded in the Battle of Dresden and to succumb to his injuries in Bohemia, September 2, 1913.

Fourteen children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Sartori at Rosy Hill, and of these, eleven grew to maturity, six sons: Charles, Victor, Louis Constant, Edmund, Augustus and Vincent, and five daughters: Eugenia, Mathilda, Isabella, Magdalena and Clementina. In 1828 Madame Sartori died in her home on the banks of the Delaware at the age of forty-two, following the birth of twins, neither of whom survived. The task of bringing up her younger brothers and sisters fell to the eldest daughter, Eugenia, at that time scarcely twenty-one years of age. It was doubtless the loss of his wife, together with serious reverses which overtook the family at this time, which brought about Sartori's decision to return to Italy. Some years before, in 1820, the Republic of Haiti agreed to indemnify in part the losses sustained by French residents during the Haitian revolu-

tion of 1791, and about $12,000 was allotted to Henriette de Woofoin Sartori and her heirs, to be paid in instalments. However, in the period between 1827 and 1830, the instalments ceased, the Haitian government being unable to make further payments. The following document from the family records gives an account of the allotment, and of the remainder still due the heirs in 1843:

Statement of the indemnity of St. Domingo, due to the family of John B. Sartori, of Trenton, N. J., United States of America, as it now stands in the hands of his agents in Paris, Messieurs Dumoustier Goujaud per (?) Deshene:

Leghorn, 26 Oct., 1843.

Amount of the 4/5 due in the first liquidation agreeably to the account of Mess. Dumoustier Guijaud of Paris of the 22nd September, 1828, in frs.....	45,406
D. D. of the second liquidation 4/5 of the 24th of August, 1829	14,080
Total of the 4/5 due: Francs.....	59,486
Of the above is to be deducted for so much sold while I was in Paris in September, 1828.....	25,000
Remains due: Francs	34,486
This sum of 34,486, agreeably to the last treaty of 1830, has been reduced to one half, payable in 30 years without interest, which remains due, Frs.	17,243

And being divided amongst the eleven children, will come at the rate of Fs. 1,567 54/100 to each of them.

Of these eleven shares, 4 have been assigned to Mr. Coen of Venice to pay a debt due them.

To say: Charles—lives in N. Jersey, U. S. of America.
Lewis—Lieutenant in U. S. Navy, in America.
Victor—merchant in Philadelphia.
Vincent—died in Leghorn in January, 1835.

The others are:

Eugenia—married to P. A. Hargous, in N. York.
Mathilda—married to P. Jauretche, in Philadelphia.
Magdalena—married to J. Apellius, in Leghorn.
Isabella—married to Don Agostini, in Leghorn.
Clementina—unmarried;
Augustus—single,
living with their father.
Edmund—single, on a voyage to Canton.

(Signed) J. B. SARTORI.

N. B.—This claim is free of all incumbrances, as all commissions have been paid to the agents in Paris in September, 1828, on the whole amount received and to be received, as may be seen by the accounts.

In 1832, then, Giovanni Battista Sartori returned to Italy. Rosy Hill, made memorable by its use for Catholic services in the early years of the century, passed out of the hands of the family some time before 1850, for at that date we find Mr. John Hewitt living there. It was later occupied for some years as an office by the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, and the American Bridge Company is now located there.

Sartori's daughters, Magdalena, Isabella and Clementina, accompanied him to Italy. A glance at the document regarding the Haitian indemnity printed above will show that his son Vincent died in Leghorn three years later, and that Augustus was resident there in 1843. There is little doubt, therefore, that the two sons made the journey to Italy at the same time as their father and sisters, though the family records are silent on this head.

It was evidently in Leghorn that Sartori took up his abode on his return to his native land. Whether or not he continued in the service of Gregory XVI we cannot ascertain. There is, however, an entry in the article *Somaschi* in Moroni's Ecclesiastical Dictionary which states that, when Monsignor Ferrari was

sent by that Pope to turn over to the above mentioned monks the Monastery of St. Alexis in October, 1846, the matter was set forth in a public document "by the notary, Sartori." There is a possibility that the last named was none other than Giovanni Battista Sartori himself, who had once more become identified with the interests of the Holy See, or, at least, had again entered the Italian world of affairs, holding himself at the same time at the disposal of the Pontiff when the need should arise.

Magdalena Sartori married J. Apellius, of Leghorn, and Isabella became Madame Agostini, with a home in the same city. The youngest daughter Clementina, Madame Fontana, was, some years ago, the sole survivor, with her brother, Commodore Louis Sartori of the United States Navy, of the family of fourteen brothers and sisters, according to an undated statement in the handwriting of the Commodore. Sartori never returned to America, but died in Italy at the age of ninety-eight.

IV

America is indebted to the Italian Papal Consul, and to his wife, the French refugee, for a long line of vigorous descendants, many of whom have played prominent parts in the religious and civil history of the various States in which they have settled. A word about them in detail cannot fail to be of interest.

It must have been a rare satisfaction to Giovanni Battista Sartori when Eugenia Victorine, his eldest daughter, accepted the proposal of marriage of Peter Amédée Hargous, son of Sartori's old friend, Captain John Hargous. The intimate friendship that existed between these two pioneers can readily be understood. Exiles together in a strange land, having the same strong religious convictions, co-workers and benefactors in the founding of Trenton's first Catholic church, they were bound to each other by many ties, and the marriage of their children must have been to them a welcome development. The analogy goes even further, for Captain Hargous's wife, like Sartori's, had passed a stormy

youth, being a victim of the same French Revolution which had driven Henriette de Woofoin as a child to the shores of the United States. In Madame Hargous's case, the French island of Martinique was the scene of her girlhood's tragedy, where the revolution in the mother country was reproduced in miniature. Driven from her home with her mother, Madame Boisson, and her brother, she was rescued with them by Captain Hargous, of the French Navy, then cruising in the vicinity of the island, and brought to the United States, where she and her deliverer were eventually married.

Peter Amédée Hargous was their eldest son, born in 1800. After his marriage with Eugenia Sartori, his career began in earnest, and he built up successfully, bit by bit, that unblemished reputation as a sterling citizen and upright man of business which made his name one to conjure with in New York for so many years. Mr. Hargous was a commission merchant, operating his own line of steamers between New York and Havana and Mexico. He was financially interested to a very great extent in the projected Tehuantepec Canal, but the depression of business consequent to the Civil War brought the venture to an abrupt close and left him on the verge of ruin. Peter A. Hargous's friendship for Archbishop Hughes was a fact that reflected great credit both upon him and upon the illustrious prelate who admitted him to his confidence. In the *Life of Archbishop Hughes,* by John Rose Greene Hassard, we read of his great regard for Mr. Hargous, and that there was in all probability no one nearer than he to being his confidential companion. We learn from the same source that the great churchman sometimes submitted his writings on various subjects to Mr. Hargous for his approval before publication. (p. 329, sq.).

It would be impossible to give a just estimate of the services rendered by Peter Amédée Hargous to the Catholic Church in New York. He was a great admirer of the Society of Jesus, and was instrumental in the founding of St. John's College, Ford-

ham, now Fordham University, and he also took an important part in the first foundations in New York of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, whose devoted friend and prudent counsellor he was for many years. We have already had an example of his benefactions to the Church in Trenton, where, in 1851, he paid off the debt and bought for the diocese the church built in 1814 by his father and father-in-law. He died in New York, September 2, 1864.

A cousin of his, Louis Hargous, sometime Professor of French at Princeton University, was an interesting figure in Trenton society for many years. He lived in the old Hargous house on Seward Avenue, which is still standing, and dispensed there a distinguished and lavish hospitality which made his name famous in the surrounding country. P. A. Hargous had two brothers, Louis Stanislaus, whose wife was Susan Gallagher, a non-Catholic, and Eugene, who married Jane Treguerez, and two of whose sons, Charles and Peter, entered respectively the army and navy of the United States. Peter Amédée's only sister, Marie Mélicie, never married, but lived up to the traditions of the Hargous family by her benefactions to the Church. The beautiful stained glass window representing the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in the sanctuary of St. Mary's Cathedral, Trenton, is an enduring proof of her generosity. One of the side windows in the same edifice was also given by her, and one by her brother, Louis Stanislaus.

Of P. A. Hargous's ten children, three, Marguerite, Adéle and one other died in infancy, and one, Claire, at the age of nine. He had only two sons, his namesake, whose wife was Antonine Jackson, of New Orleans, and Frank, who remained unmarried. The four remaining daughters all made distinguished marriages. Mathilda became the wife of Count Louis le Couteulx de Caumont, whose father and uncle participated in the founding of the first Catholic church in Buffalo. Their two sons, Henry and Louis, entered the French army, and both served their country

faithfully during the great world war with Germany, though their age debarred them from service in the field. The latter, a devout Catholic, true to the instincts inherited from both parents, was refused promotion by the republican government of France for many years for having a priest as tutor for his sons. He died a year or so ago, after paying the price of his loyalty to his country by the loss of one of his sons at Verdun. The family has been further represented in the great conflict by two other sons of Louis's, who were both wounded and by Henry's son and two sons-in-law, a glorious record.

Mr. Hargous's second surviving daughter, Emily, who married Henry LeBarbier, son of A. A. LeBarbier and Azemia LaMaitre, became the mother of five children, all prominent in their respective careers, and her two grandsons have had the honor of serving in the struggle just brought to a victorious end. Mr. and Mrs. Hargous's daughter, Isabella Eugenia, is the widow of John Rose Greene Hassard, the eminent journalist, critic and historian, and is a resident of New York. The youngest daughter of P. A. Hargous was Louise, who became the wife of General Martin T. McMahon, soldier, diplomat and jurist.

To complete this sketch, a word should be added about the five other children of Giovanni Battista Sartori. Of these, Charles, the eldest of the family, married and was the only one of all the brothers and sisters to remain in New Jersey. Mathilda, the second daughter, Mrs. Peter de Jauretche, lived in Philadelphia for many years, and it is now the residence of her five daughters. Victor settled also in Philadelphia, and became a successful merchant and the father of three sons. Edmund, who is described in the "Statement" of the Santo Domingo indemnity as single on a voyage to China, finally found his way to South America, where he married. His son, Don Luigi Sartori, became a priest, and labored devotedly for over twenty-five years in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, notably at Upper Falls, Maryland, where he built St. Stephen's Church while pastor of the parish.

One of the most interesting of Sartori's children was his son, Commodore Louis Constant Sartori, who was born in June, 1812, at Rosy Hill. He entered the United States Navy as a midshipman at the age of seventeen, and was made a lieutenant in 1841. During the Mexican War (1847-48) he participated in the capture of Goatzacoalces and Tabasco aboard his ship, the Stromboli. After being attached to the Mediterranean and Pacific squadrons Sartori was made a Commander in 1861, and during the Civil War commanded the Portsmouth. He became Captain in 1866, and Commodore in 1873, retiring the following year at the age of sixty-two. Commodore Sartori's wife was Mathilda Musgrave.

The Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, Mo., has in its archives a very interesting series of letters sent to Bishop Rosati from Rome by the first native students who went from Missouri to the College of Propaganda. In one of these, dated July, 1833, and written by Hilary Tucker, after for many years a well-known priest of the diocese, is this statement:

"We have just received another little American from Pennsylvania, only ten years old, son of Mr. Sartorius, the Pope's Consul to the United States."

For a more detailed identification of this "little American" and his subsequent career there are no records at hand.

Another of these letters, written by Father Tucker, dated Leghorn, June 23, 1838, says, in speaking of his fellow passengers thence for New York: "And also the daughter of Mr. Sartori, the Pope's Consul in the United States, is about taking her passage." This voyage took eighty days between the two ports.

There are little or no data available regarding the history of the Sartori family in Italy since the time of Carlo Sartori, the Pontifical Jeweler, and the departure of his eldest son for America. A publisher of some note, Francesco Sartori, was a contemporary of Carlo, but just what relationship, if any, existed between them it is impossible to ascertain. A Gustavo Sartori

Cherubini was Episcopal Printer at Ancona in the middle of the last century, and could very well have been a son or grandson of Francesco. A priest bearing the family name was living at Asiago in 1880, a direct descendant of the Vicenza Sartoris, and perhaps more or less closely connected with the branch of the family dealt with in this notice. In addition to the Italian and American branches, there should be in Spain some descendants of the Swiss Baron Satori, father of Carlo, for his younger son settled there in the eighteenth century.

We here close this present attempt at an investigation into the history of this worthy pioneer. For the biographer who could discover all the events of his long and interesting life a task of exceptional interest presents itself. The little glimpses of his character which these researches give us, his loyalty, his energy, his piety, make us look forward with eagerness to the full picture, the details of which are so pleasing. For the present we must be content to admire and to emulate, for in the America of to-day, as in that of 1800, Christ's Vicar must be upheld with the same unflinching loyalty and Christ's Kingdom propagated with a like generous and unflagging zeal as those which characterized Giovanni Battista Sartori, America's first Pontifical Consul.

The Sartori portraits illustrating this paper are from beautiful miniatures in possession of the Le Barbier family of New York, who have kindly permitted their reproduction and publication in RECORDS AND STUDIES.

I am also indebted to Mr. John J. Cleary, literary editor of the Trenton *Times-Advertiser,* for the pictures of the Sartori and Hargous houses. Mr. Cleary has written much about old Trenton himself and with his contribution on its pioneer Catholics, in RECORDS AND STUDIES for December, 1917, a picture of the first church, built in 1814, was published. He has also favored me with the following notes on the Sartori and Hargous residences:

The old Sartori home was located on a low bluff overlooking the Delaware and not far removed from the calico factory. When occupied by the Sartoris it was a beautiful spot with trees and shrubbery aplenty and a spacious green lawn sloping to the river. In 1845, Cooper & Hewitt acquired the property and established there an iron rolling mill which for several decades was the chief industrial reliance for hundreds of Irish and German Catholics of South Trenton.

The Sartori house was used in the '50's as the home of the Hewitt family (including former Mayor Abram S. Hewitt of New York) and after continued as the mill offices, the building being then enlarged considerably and the interior cut up to suit its new purposes. The original wide stairway with a mahogany rail is still in use. In the basement may be seen the heavy hand-hewn oak joists; also the huge stone foundation walls several times the thickness of those used today. On the upper floors, where the plaster has been torn away, are visible the hand-split laths, fastened with hand-cut nails.

When built it was a frame structure about forty feet square, two stories high, with dormer windows piercing the sloping roof on either side. One of these on the front has been changed into an ungainly skylight. The Hargous house, on Seward Avenue, has been converted into a double dwelling. It is a couple of miles distant from the Sartori residence. In its day it was the manor house of a charming property, being several hundred feet back from Clinton Avenue with a fine driveway, and on the picturesque Assunpink Creek. Now the section is entirely built up and the beauty of the creek is marred with various factories along its bank. Whether or not Captain John Hargous built the house I do not know.

A LOAN TO THE POPE

Through the kindness of our President, Mr. Stephen Farrelly, we have been favored with a copy of a now rare and very curious circular sent to the Catholic congregations of New York by Archbishop McCloskey, in 1866, advocating support of a loan made by Pope Pius IX. That was long before the era of our "drives," so his Grace went about the task in a very modest manner. The circular is printed on two pages of note-size paper and endorsed "To the Members of this Church." It reads as follows:

ROMAN LOAN

AMERICAN ISSUE—FOUR MILLIONS DOLLARS

To the Members of this Church:

As the subscription to this Loan must be closed on the 15th of September, it is hoped that the members of this Church will, without delay, name the amount of their subscription to the Rector, or send it to the Agent.

To insure the Treasury of the States of the Holy See complete independence during the negotiations pending between the Governments of France and Italy for the liquidation of the Papal State debt, His Holiness, Pope Pius IX, by Pontifical Act of the 11th of April, 1866, decreed the emission by subscription of the Loan now offered to the public.

Although former loans have commanded nearly par, His Holiness, in view of the present condition of monetary matters, not wishing to impose a sacrifice upon those willing to assist him in surmounting his present temporary embarrassments, as well as to present inducements to capital, has decided to issue this Loan at sixty-six (66) dollars gold for the one hundred dollar gold bond, bearing 5 per cent. interest, thus giving more than seven and one-half per cent. interest on the amount invested.

The interest is payable every six months at the banking house of Duncan, Sherman & Co., No. 11 Nassau Street, corner of Pine, where subscriptions are received.

It is believed that this Loan will commend itself to capitalists generally, and undoubtedly will to all Catholics, having at heart a desire to prove that His Holiness never addresses himself to them in vain.

No investment can present greater security than one guaranteed, as this is, by the pledged faith of the State, which has always punctually fulfilled every engagement of its Pontifical Head.

Mr. Robert Murphy, being the bearer to us of introductory letters from the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, we feel authorized to commend most earnestly the objects of his mission to the Rev. Clergy and faithful of our diocese.

Given at New York, this 23d day of June, A.D., 1866.

✠ John, Archbishop of New York.

Apostolical Nunciature,
In France Paris, May 20th, 1866.

Mr. Robert Murphy,
Paris.

Sir: Messieurs Edward Blount & Co., entrusted with the emission of the new loan that the Holy Father has just ordered by his sovereign decree of the 11th of last April, have apprised me of the offers that you made them to place the bonds of the aforesaid loan in America, and of the motives they have for believing in the success of your efforts.

Receiving this intelligence with great satisfaction, I myself desire, Sir, to encourage you in your good intentions and to entreat you to omit nothing that may facilitate your attainment of so just and useful an object to the Government of the Holy Father, as that you propose.

To this end you are specially invited to call, above all, on our

Most Reverend and Right Reverend Archbishops and Bishops, and on the venerable members of the Clergy, whose moral support is indispensable in order to obtain numerous subscribers among the Faithful. And I, by these letters, which you may exhibit to the most Reverend Prelates and to all Ecclesiastics, myself earnestly entreat them to have the goodness to receive you with all kindness and to lend you all the aid that circumstances may require for the more successful accomplishment of the enterprise. For this purpose I declare to them that you are, under the orders of Messieurs Edward Blount & Co., alone authorized to negotiate the bonds of the Pontifical loan in America, and I add thereto that the subscription is for the immediate account of the Government of the Holy Father.

It would, Sir, be especially agreeable to me to learn the names of those persons who have either subscribed to the loan or aided the subscription.

With the hope that your efforts may speedily be crowned by the most ample success, I am happy to assure you, Sir, of my sentiments of the most distinguished consideration.

The Apostolical Nuncio in France.

✠ Flavio, Archbishop of Myre.

We certify the above to be a correct translation from the original. ✠ John, Archbishop of New York.

New York, June 23, 1866.

When this loan fell due, we are told that the Italian Government extended it for another twenty years, issuing coupons for the continuation of the interest during this second period.

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN ALASKA

A Compendium of Their History from the Foundation Until 1900

By The Rev. Francis Barnum, S. J.

The foundation of the first Catholic Mission among the natives of Alaska is due to the efforts of the Most Reverend Charles J. Seghers, whose saintly life was sacrificed in the prosecution of this apostolic work.

In 1887 this illustrious prelate, who was then Bishop of Victoria, B. C., anxious to extend the Faith in Alaska, which at that time was included in his spiritual jurisdiction, determined to visit the Yukon Valley in search of a favorable site for a mission.

The vast polar empire of Alaska was the only remaining region of the world in which the Gospel of Christ had not yet been preached. The midnight sun had never shed its pale beams upon a cross, nor had the Angelus bell ever echoed over the frozen tundras of the North Land.

It was in quest of the stray sheep in this remote wilderness that this good shepherd was to lay down his life.

Accompanied by one of his clergymen, the Rev. J. Mandart, Bishop Seghers sailed from San Francisco, on a small steamer belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company, which made a yearly visit to St. Michael's Island in Norton Sound.

This remote little trading post was founded in 1833 by Michael Tebenkof, according to orders from Baron Wrangel, who was then Governor of the Russian Fur Company. It is situated on a small volcanic island about eighty miles north of the mouth of the Yukon. Owing to the enormous deposit of silt carried down by the Yukon and Kuskokwim, all the eastern expanse of Bering Sea is extremely shallow. As there is no other

harbor nearer, St. Michael's serves as the shipping port for the entire Yukon district.

Every Summer as soon as navigation opened, the Alaska Commercial Company's traders from the various sections along the Yukon were accustomed to assemble here to deliver their furs to the Agent, and to receive trading goods and provisions for the following year. When the Bishop arrived at St. Michael's unfortunately these traders had already set out on their return journey, and so he found himself deprived of the opportunity of ascending the river with them. This indeed proved a severe disappointment, for it entailed a long delay and loss of time at St. Michael's. There was, however, one alternative, that of attempting to reach the Yukon by way of the Unalaklik and Kaltag portage. If this could be accomplished, he had still a good chance of arriving at Kaltag before the boats of the traders passed there. A glance at the map will render this clear, as it will show exactly what a "short cut" this route is. The Unalaklik is a small river emptying into Norton Sound, about fifty miles northeast of St. Michael's; as its head waters reach up near Kaltag, a village on the Yukon, forty miles below Nulato, it has always been used as a trade route. As the Bishop was anxious to proceed, he resolved to attempt this journey, which proved to be most laborious and exhausting. It was what all who have had experience in Alaska travel term essentially a winter route. They endured many trials and delays in their long canoe journey around the shore of the sound, and up the winding river. When they reached the portage at last, the most difficult part of their journey begun. They were entirely alone in the wilderness, without any help and so they were obliged to transport their whole outfit themselves. This severe work occupied them for nearly a week, as the trail is long, and leads over very rough ground. Owing to this unforeseen delay they ran out of food, and during the six days that they were employed on the portage they were actually obliged to subsist upon crows.

They finally reached the Yukon, luckily just at the very time that the boats of the traders were passing by. They made signals, but only succeeded in attracting the attention of those in the last boat.

This belonged to a trader named Boudouin, who kindly took the party on board, and brought them to Nulato. On their arrival Bishop Seghers obtained the use of a small cabin from one of the Indians named Kurilka (Cyril). This is the same man who is so frequently and favorably noticed by Dall, in his work on Alaska. The Bishop then devoted himself entirely to making the acquaintance, and winning the confidence and affection of the Indians. During the Winter, he and Father Mandart made several long trips, visiting various villages along the river. In the summer when navigation opened, the Bishop and his faithful companion started for St. Michael's, but before leaving Nulato he promised the Indians while taking leave of them, that he would return the following year, and establish a mission. On his arrival home in Victoria, to his great dismay, he found news awaiting him which completely delayed all his Alaskan plans. The new Pontiff Leo XIII had transferred him from the See of Victoria, and promoted him to the Archbishopric of Oregon. In 1883 Archbishop Seghers made his official visit to Rome, and while there obtained permission from the Pope to resign the See of Oregon, and to return to his old diocese, which was then vacant. On March 7, 1884, he was reappointed to Victoria, and immediately resumed his long delayed plans for a mission on the Yukon. His inability to fulfill the promise which he had made to the Indians of Nulato, had always been a source of the keenest regret to him, and he often spoke of it.

However, it was not until 1886 that the Archbishop was finally able to begin the undertaking. It was his desire that the new mission should be confided to the care of some religious order, and two Jesuit Fathers were appointed to commence the work. On July 13, 1886, Archbishop Seghers set out once more for

Alaska, accompanied by the Rev. Pascal Tosi, S. J., and the Rev. Aloysius Robaut, S. J. The little party sailed from Victoria on the steamer Ancon, and on the 20th they arrived at a Chilcat trading post, then generally known as Healey's Place, at the head of Lynn Canal. Here began one of the most arduous stages of their long journey through the arctic wilderness. Their route led up the steep and narrow gorge of the Dyea, a glacial torrent, to the now famous Chilkoot Pass. After crossing the divide, they descended to the little pool called Crater Lake, which is one of the sources of the Yukon. Following the outlet from this pool they next arrived at Lake Linderman. Here six days were spent in the construction of a rude raft on which they loaded their provisions, and floated down to the outlet, and then on through the stream connecting with Lake Bennett, which is the second of this chain of lakes. Near the entrance to Lake Bennett there is a very dangerous spot which necessitated a short portage. At the head of Lake Bennett they were again obliged to delay until they built a boat in which to continue the journey. After a month's work a clumsy scow was constructed, in which they started on their perilous voyage.

The many exciting incidents, and narrow escapes of this arduous journey, as well as the terrible privations which they endured would take too long to recount, but they can be easily imagined by any one who remembers Alaska of that time. The thrilling passage through the famous Miles Cañon, and the still more dreaded run through the great White Horse Rapids, were among some of the stirring incidents of this journey. After traversing 520 miles of what was then an absolute wilderness they reached the first trading post on the Yukon, known as Harper's Place, situated at the mouth of Stewart River. The Archbishop was most eager to reach Nulato, and leaving the two Fathers at Harper's with instructions to join him in the Spring, he set out with a paid attendant named Fuller, and two Indian guides, determined to make every effort to reach Nulato before

the river closed. It was already too late in the season to attempt so long a journey on the river. Over and over again his frail little skiff was in danger of being overwhelmed by the constantly increasing masses of drifting ice. Finally, when well nigh worn out by privation, cold and fatigue, they succeeded in reaching the next trading post, Nukloroyet. This was as far as it was possible for them to continue by boat, and so they were forced to delay until the river closed and sufficient snow had fallen to render its surface suitable for sled travel. After they had resumed their journey, the Archbishop noticed that Fuller became very morose and began to act strangely. He grew exceedingly suspicious, and was always speaking of being pursued by enemies, at last he became possessed of the idea that even the Archbishop had designs upon him. The Archbishop endeavored to convince the man that he was merely laboring under a hallucination, but it was all in vain, he could no nothing with him. The nearer they approached the end of the journey the worse Fuller became. He constantly accused the Archbishop of being in league with his imaginary enemies, and he threatened more than once to kill him. The journey from Nukloroyet to Nulato by dog sled takes usually about ten days. It was a Friday evening when the party camped for the last time on the bank of the frozen river. They were then close to Nulato, having only a few miles yet to travel. The spot where this last camp was made was at the base of a lofty point, known as Yissetlatoh, which juts out from the north shore close to where the Koyukuk enters the Yukon. The next morning Fuller awoke very early, and taking up his rifle he kicked the Archbishop, and roughly ordered him to get up. Just as the Archbishop started to rise Fuller fired at him, the bullet entered his heart and death was instantaneous. The two Indian guides were greatly terrified, expecting to be killed also, but Fuller told them not to fear, and the three men proceeded to Nulato. This sad event occurred November 28, 1886. The body was left bleeding on the river bank just as it had fallen,

so that the mighty artery of the land he loved so well received from the Archbishop's heart the crimson streamlet of his blood.

Meanwhile Father Tosi and Father Robaut remained at Stewart River, where, as they were both inexperienced and, moreover, very poorly equipped, they underwent much discomfort and privation. The cold was exceedingly severe, often reaching to eighty degrees below zero. As soon as the river opened they set out for Nulato, according to their instructions, where they expected to rejoin the Archbishop. On their way down they stopped at Fort Yukon, an old post of the Hudson Bay Company, built by McMurray in 1847. While here they received the appalling news of the murder of their noble-hearted leader. In this terrible emergency the only thing they could do was to continue to St. Michael's. Here it was agreed that Father Tosi, who was the senior, should proceed to San Francisco to obtain help, and that Father Robaut should return to the Yukon. Father Tosi having made his report, started back for Alaska accompanied by another priest, the Rev. A. Ragaru, S. J., and also a lay-Brother. They retraced the same route over the Chilcoot Pass, making the journey this time with much less delay, and reached Nukloroyet September 21. Here they were most gladly welcomed by Father Robaut. This poor priest had experienced a year of loneliness at Anvik, where he occupied himself in teaching the children of the trader, and in studying the Indian language. It was decided that Father Ragaru should remain at Nukloroyet, Father Tosi was to proceed to Nulato, and Father Robaut would return to Anvik.

Nulato was considered at that time to be one of the most important villages along the Yukon. It is situated at the end of the middle stretch of the river, near to where the Koiklotzena or (as it is styled on the map) the Koyukuk, flows into the Yukon. This stream is probably the largest tributary entering from the North, its head waters extend far up near the coast of the Arctic Ocean. As a trading post, Nulato enjoyed a most advantageous

location, for by way of a Koyukuk portage there was a trade route to the Kotzebue Sound country, and the Unalaklik portage, of which mention has been already made, afforded a short cut to St. Michael's, by which all the long journey down to the mouth of the Yukon and around the sea coast was avoided. The Russian Fur Company had a post here, and the greatest event in the history of Nulato is the massacre which took place in 1851. At that time the Indians, exasperated by the injustice and cruelty of the Russians, made an attack upon the post, and put all the whites to death. Another very sad incident is connected with this event. In 1849 the Plover, a British warship, which had been despatched in search of Sir John Franklin, touched at St. Michael's. While there the Captain was informed that the Koyukuk Indians knew about the Franklin expedition, so he detailed two of his officers to visit Nulato in order to trace up this clue. They were there unfortunately just at the time the massacre took place, and one of them, Lieutenant Barnard, was slain. The Indians thought that all white men were Russians. His remains were interred near the village by his companion. After our mission at Nulato was fully established, this long neglected and almost obliterated grave, of a brave man killed in the discharge of his duty, was carefully attended to. A fence was put around it, and a tablet erected bearing a Latin inscription. By means of a letter published in the London *Times*, the members of Lieutenant Barnard's family were informed of this fact, and they sent their grateful acknowledgments to the Fathers for this act of kindness.

In the Summer of 1888 another Father arrived at St. Michael's, accompanied by three Sisters of St. Anne, a Canadian Congregation, whose Motherhouse is at Lachine, near Montreal. A site was selected on the lower Yukon not far from Kozyrevsky, and a new mission known as Holy Cross was begun. Before leaving St. Michael's the Superior Sister, Mary Stephen, had been requested to take charge of a little orphan named Anna. Thus

it happened that the very first child confided to their care bore the name of the patron saint of their congregation. For a long time little Anna was the only child at the Mission, as it took months to overcome the apathy ignorance and puerile superstitions of the Indians. Gradually a few children were collected, and the Sisters were able to begin regular teaching.

As time passed on the Indians who frequently visited the school commenced little by little to display some faint interest. They were just beginning to comprehend what the Mission meant. They beheld the children not only cleanly, but to their simple notions elegantly dressed, and this produced a great effect upon them. Moreover, it was a constant source of astonishment to them when they realized that our children were much attached to the School, and really loved the Sisters. The fact is that these keen-witted little ones fully appreciated the hitherto unknown luxury of being kindly cared for. They did not know then that they were Christ's little ones, and that it was all for His dear sake. The various traders all sent their children to the school as soon as the news of its establishment spread through the country. This also produced a very good impression upon the Indians, who considered these men as the great lords of the territory. In 1889 two more priests arrived, the Rev. J. Treca, S. J., and the Rev. P. Muset, S. J. This additional help enabled Father Tosi, who was now the Superior of the Mission, to start a station among the Eskimo who dwell along the coast. The little village of Tununa, on the shore of Bering Sea near Cape Vancouver, was selected and the two new Fathers were sent there. Father William Judge, S. J., of Baltimore, arrived in 1890, and was stationed at Holy Cross.

The following year Father Francis Barnum, S. J., also from Baltimore, arrived at St. Michael's; with him were three Sisters of St. Anne, whose coming was most welcome, as the original trio at Holy Cross were already greatly overworked on account of the growth of the school.

Father Barnum was ordered to Tununa, where he applied himself especially to the study of the Eskimo language.

In 1892 the Rev. A. Parodi, S. J., and three more Sisters arrived. This year the first death occurred among the boys of Holy Cross School. It was that of a very bright young lad called Andrew. He had been baptized at Nulato by Archbishop Seghers, who named him after the titular Saint of his Cathedral in Victoria. Andrew's death was a great loss to us, he had learned English well, and was most useful as an interpreter. One of his especial delights was to engage in controversy with the Shamans or Sorcerers. He was possessed of a fine mind, and moreover had been most carefully instructed in Christian doctrine, so he never failed to rout these impostors, as none of them could ever answer his arguments.

This same year the Fathers erected a large memorial cross, over the spot at Yissetlatoh, where Archbishop Seghers was slain. This cross was carried away by the great flood of 1894. As it passed Nulato, it was still standing upright on the ice. The Indians uttered loud lamentations and the church bell was tolled until it had drifted out of sight.

In 1892, also, the Fathers who were stationed in the Eskimo district, having found by experience that for many reasons Tununa was not a suitable location for a school, determined upon removing to a more advantageous site.

Throughout the whole coast district of Northern Alaska it is a matter of exceedingly great difficulty to find a spot possessing all the necessary requirements for a mission station. In this matter the location of native villages can never be taken as a safe guide, for whenever conditions are adverse in one of these the inhabitants just move away, and wait patiently till things right themselves. It is essential that a mission be located in a place perfectly secure from the great inundations which always follow the break up of the ice. Many native villages are totally submerged this way every year. Then if possible it is desirable

that it should be sheltered from the fury of the winter storms. It should also be in a place where during Summer fresh water can be had, and in this desolate treeless region it should be where driftwood can be collected to serve as fuel. Furthermore, it is desirable that it should be in a vicinity where fish abound throughout the year. Finally, it should be easy and safe of access by water, and conveniently near some native settlements. With this object in view Father Treca and Father Barnum carefully explored all of the great interfluvial tract extending between the Yukon and the Kuskokwim.

In those days travel in Alaska, whether by dog-sled or sail-boat, meant a test of endurance; alone in that boundless, desolate, storm-tortured waste, with but just the scanty food which could be carried along, there was no hope of relief in case of sickness or accident. The constant risk of being lost in the furious storms, the hazard of getting adrift on a floe when travelling on the sea, of perishing while running some of the rapids, of freezing in that overpowering cold, the agony of snow blindness, the misery of Arctic thirst, all these and many more besides were the risks and vicissitudes that confronted us on every trip we ever undertook through the great frozen Northland. A visitor now can hardly realize just what Alaskan travel meant in the old pioneer days, or fur period. Under such circumstances as these, the Fathers searched for a mission site. As there seemed to be no hope of finding any one spot possessing all desirable features, the only thing left was to select that which offered the most important of them, and such a place was discovered on the Kanilik, one of the secondary streams in the delta region of the Yukon. In order to judge of the fitness of a place for a residence in this country, one must be familiar with its conditions during both seasons of the year. A place which may appear very attractive as a winter abode, may prove to be utterly unsuitable for Summer, and this was our experience at Kanilik. When Summer came we discovered that an extensive mud flat

existed between our house and the channel of the river. This rendered the landing of supplies so exceedingly inconvenient that we promptly decided to move again, a better place was selected, a few miles away, on a stream called the Akularak. A log house is easily taken down, and easily re-erected, so ours was once more taken apart, every log being already marked, they were made into a raft, and floated around to the Akularak. Additional buildings were put up, and four Sisters having come down from Holy Cross, our second school was started here in September, 1894. In 1893 the Rev. F. Monroe, S.J., arrived, and also three more Sisters. Father Tosi returned. He went down the previous year to make a report of the Mission. On March 25 there was a very strong earthquake shock at Holy Cross which caused great alarm. This same shock was felt down at Kolmakoffsky on the Kuskokwim. We were joined during 1894 by the Rev. R. Crimont, S.J., who was assigned for duty at Holy Cross, and a decree from Rome was received stating that Alaska, which hitherto has been under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria, had been constituted a Prefecture Apostolic, with the Rev. Pascal Tosi as Prefect. In 1895 the Rev. J. Post, S.J., was sent up and stationed at Akularak.

Shortly after the foundation of Holy Cross, a plot of ground was selected for an experimental garden. The first season all that could be done was to clear away the growth of moss, etc., so as to allow the sunlight to reach the frozen ground. The following year it was noticed that on this area the ground thawed out much sooner than anywhere around. Each year the thaw penetrated deeper and deeper. Experiments were made with the hardier vegetables. Cabbage, carrots, turnips and radishes proved to be the most successful. Potatoes were raised, but the short season did not allow them to attain full size. The Indians were much amazed at our garden work; what they admired most of all were the cabbages, to which they gave a name signifying "big leaves." The Sisters, who also cultivated a gar-

den of their own, succeeded in raising some hardy flowers, which were devoted to the adornment of the church. Specimens of the vegetables grown at Holy Cross were sent to the Department of Agriculture in Washington.

This year the number of prospectors on the upper Yukon having greatly increased, Father William Judge went from Holy Cross to start a church at Forty Mile, which was then the most important of the mining camps. This place derived its name from a custom which prevailed among the early group of prospectors of naming the various gold bearing creeks of that district according to their distance from Fort Reliance. Later on the discovery of the wonderful gold fields of the Klondyke not only attracted a mighty host of newcomers, but also caused a general stampede from all the surrounding camps. Father Judge lost no time in securing a lot in Dawson, upon which he erected a church. As was naturally to be expected, an immense amount of sickness developed, typhoid fever and pneumonia swept away a great number.

Seeing the urgent need Father Judge spared no effort until he had succeeded in putting up a building to serve as a hospital. Almost before it was entirely ready, it was filled with sufferers, and he devoted himself to nursing and caring for the sick. Night and day he was ever at their service, always cheerful, patient and sympathetic, sleeping in a little corner of the ward so that at a moment's notice he might hasten to whomsoever needed him. Many poor creatures utterly exhausted by that terrible march over the Chilcoot trail, reached this humble little hospital just in time to die, expiring at their very journey's end. Yet they were far more fortunate than those of their fellows who perished on the way, as they had the comfort of having a kind priest near to console and help them at their hour of death. Father Judge was never very robust, and the excessive strain of his labors in Dawson wore out his delicate frame. To the

profound sorrow of all who knew him, he was stricken with pneumonia, and on January 16, 1899, he tranquilly expired in the very hospital which he had built for the benefit of others. His memory is still held in loving veneration throughout the Klondyke, and all "old timers" speak feelingly of Father Judge. After his death no other member of the Mission was sent beyond the boundary line. As the Klondyke region was in British territory, members of the Canadian clergy came in, and took possession of the missions, which had been founded there by the American Jesuits.

In 1896 the Rev. J. Cataldo, S.J., arrived at St. Michael's; Rev. P. Bougis, S.J., started a church and school at Douglas, and the Rev. J. Rene, S.J., was appointed to Juneau. The first of the Sisters to sink beneath the hardships of missionary life was Sister Mary Anguilbert, who died at Holy Cross May 2, 1896. It is simply imposible to convey to the minds of those always accustomed to the conditions of life in a pleasant climate, and to all the thousand comforts and conveniences of civilization, any adequate concept of the innumerable miseries, which at that time, were endured by all the members of the Mission. In 1897 Father Tosi's health was so completely broken down that he was unable any longer to conduct the affairs of the Mission and he started back to civilization. As the vessel left the harbor, a farewell salute was fired in honor of the old veteran missionary, by order of Mr. J. Wilson, Chief Agent of the Alaska Commercial Company. Father Tosi retired to Juneau, where he died January 14, 1898. He was in the sixty-first year of his age, thirty-three having been spent in our Indian missions. He was succeeded as Prefect Apostolic by the Rev. J. Rene, S.J., who arrived there that year. After making an inspection of the Mission Father Rene returned to St. Michael's in order to proceed to Juneau. Before sailing he was attacked by a severe illness, but he persisted in undertaking the journey. The Right

Reverend Bishop Rowe of the Episcopalian Church was also on board the steamer, and all through the voyage he most kindly attended upon the sick priest.

The Rev. J. Jette, S.J.; the Rev. J. Luchesi, S.J., and the Rev. J. Perron, S.J., arrived at St. Michael's in 1898, and the Rev. P. Turnell, S.J., was stationed at Skagway, S. E. Alaska. Through the kindness of Captain Tuttle, Father Barnum had the opportunity of visiting Port Barrow. After returning from this cruise Father Barnum was directed to proceed to New York, in order to supervise the printing of a grammar which he had composed, of the Eskimo language.

The Rev. A. Trivelli, S.J., arrived in S. E. Alaska in 1899 and was sent to Ketchikan. A church was also started at Skagway, which owing to the Klondyke, has become an important centre. The Rev. R. Camille, S.J., arrived at St. Michael's. He and Father Monroe started a station at Eagle City. The Sisters opened a school this year at Nulato. In 1900 Father Treca was sent to Nome. While making the landing his little boat capsized, and he nearly perished in the surf. Father Robaut took up his residence at our mission on the Kuskokwim river near the old Russian post of Kolmakoffsky. This post was founded by Lukeen in 1832. There is still standing a little octagonal blockhouse like the one at St. Michael's. The greatest event of this year was the terrible epidemic which swept through the whole Yukon region, decimating every native village. It was the greatest misfortune that has occurred since the smallpox plague of 1837. The heart-breaking scenes, the mournful incidents and frightful mortality which accompanied this dreadful pestilence baffle any attempt at description.

ANDREW CARNEY, PHILANTHROPIST

By The Rev. Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

There is a very interesting notice in the Boston *Pilot* for March 26, 1864. It is signed by John Bapst, Rector of Boston College and pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. That famous Jesuit is appealing to the Catholics of Boston to attend a fair to be held in April of the same year for the benefit of the church and the college. The fair had to be held to raise the sum of $10,000. The notice that Father Bapst issued in those fag days of the great Civil War contains the information that "the munificent gift of $20,000 of Andrew Carney was bestowed upon the church and college on condition that an equivalent amount should be raised by the congregation within six months. There remains $10,000, and it is hoped that the Catholics of Boston will rally to the support of the Jesuit Fathers and so liquidate the debt."

The man who really made the work of the Jesuits of those days possible was Andrew Carney, and his $20,000 was truly munificent if we remember what money was worth during the '60's of the last century in this country of ours. Andrew Carney was at that time one of the big men of Boston, and to the present generation of Catholics his life seems more like romance than plain fact. Born in the County Cavan, Ireland, on May 12, 1794, Andrew Carney came to Boston toward the close of the year 1816. He began his career in America with nothing but his health as an asset. Unafraid of hard work, he started in as a tailor, if the imperfect records of the day can be relied upon.

It has been impossible for me to verify his real first start in

business, but from a variety of sources I conclude that the tailor shop was his first battleground in the campaign for success. What is certain is that before many years he was identified with Boston's big business interests, for in 1845 we find record of the dissolution of the firm of Carney & Sleeper. It was a large, or the largest local clothing house of the day. Not only in this business venture did he play a conspicuous and prominent part, but in his time he was connected with the Bank of the Republic, the Safety Fund Bank, and the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, holding large interests in these old-time New England financial concerns. Then, too, he was the first president of the Bank of the Mutual Redemption.

To appreciate the success attained by Andrew Carney it must be remembered that a Catholic and an Irishman in those days in Boston, as throughout New England, had very heavy odds to contend with. The strong Puritan feeling gave little quarter to Papists, and the man who succeeded in forging to the van of the business army achieved something that to-day, with Catholics forming the larger proportion of Boston's population, is difficult to appreciate.

Andrew Carney was an eminently successful business man of his time, but what is more he was a Catholic whose success brought him nearer the Kingdom of God instead of leading him away from it. He never forgot that he had been a poor man and the poor of those early days in the Puritan city surely could not have forgotten him. In the winter just preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, there were labor troubles at the Pemberton Mills. The labor troubles, as in most cases, were caused by insufficient wages, and the unfortunate mill hands were facing starvation when Andrew Carney, realizing that his money was a God-given trust, came to the aid of the sufferers not with soft speeches, but with hard cash, and averted a situation that would have been chronicled in sickness and death. It was just an illus-

tration of his real Catholic charity and one of many instances in his life that bears the lesson for the rich Catholic of to-day.

It is estimated that his recorded benefactions totaled $300,000. The word recorded is used designedly, for it is beyond the power of the historian to check off all the charities of this quiet, whole-hearted man who never turned away from the call of poverty, and yet day in and day out was helping the needy in so many ways and in so silent a manner that neither his family nor his intimate friends could accurately estimate all his good works. The Carney Hospital in South Boston is but one of his many charitable deeds written in stone. The sum of $45,295 was given to the good Sisters of Charity to begin the work that has meant so much for the sick and poor of Boston, irrespective of race or creed or color. In his will the hospital received in addition $20,000. In the brief historical sketch of Carney Hospital it is recorded that the first patient was received there on June 9, 1864. By that date the great business man and the great Catholic had passed to his reward.

It was on Sunday, April 3, 1864, that Andrew Carney died. The end came suddenly while he was in the midst of his family. The staid old city of Boston received the news of the death of this Catholic Irishman as a great shock. His old friend, Patrick Donahoe, the founder and for so many years proprietor of the Boston *Pilot,* paid his tribute to Andrew Carney in the issue of April 3, 1864. After enumerating the many good deeds of the deceased the *Pilot* says: "His death has created a void hard indeed to fill. His relations to the sick, the orphans and the destitute were so farreaching—providing means even for the education of their children. Oh, his kindness and his charity!"

Other local papers made fitting review of the passing away of this distinguished citizen, but it is perhaps in the Boston *Post* for April 16, 1864, that we find the best appreciation given from the viewpoint of a writer who was neither an intimate friend nor

a Catholic. The editor of the *Post* informed his readers that: "In the unexpected death of Andrew Carney Boston loses an estimable citizen, a high-minded man, a liberal, noble-hearted devout Christian. To the Catholic Church of which he was a shining and conspicuous light his loss will be irreparable while to the community in general his departure will be a source of sincere sorrow."

Andrew Carney was buried from the Church of the Immaculate Conception. The services were attended by the Governor and his Council. The War Governor of the Bay State, John A. Andrew, counted Andrew Carney among his good friends during the dark days of the Civil War. There were in the Jesuit Church that day a large number of Boston merchants as they were denominated, in the papers of the period, and as we would call them to-day, business men. In fact many of them closed their places of business during the time of the Mass of Requiem out of respect to the memory of their Catholic business associate. Father John McElroy, an intimate friend of the Carney family, journeyed many miles to be present at the funeral Mass and was asked by Father Bapst to pronounce the eulogy. As Father McElroy began by asking the congregation to pardon him if his sermon that day was rather unusual, for he was going to speak of a loved friend, and he did not know how to begin. There is one statement that the venerable Jesuit made that is worth remembering. After enumerating the many charities of the deceased Father McElroy said: "God alone knows his good acts and will reward him for them. I will say this, however, it would have been difficult to have carried on such extensive buildings as these, humanly speaking, if Divine Providence had not raised up for us such a friend as Andrew Carney. His credit was always at our disposal."

To-day Carney Hospital is among the leading institutions of Boston carrying on the great charity made possible by the origi-

nal donation of a successful Catholic Irishman. And the extensive buildings that Father McElroy alluded to in his funeral sermon are crowded by more than 1,200 high school students, while another building at University Heights is holding within its class rooms between 500 and 600 college men. Surely in these two among the many of Andrew Carney's charities the voice that grew silent in 1864 is speaking to the Boston of to-day.

DESTRUCTION OF THE CHARLESTOWN CONVENT

Stories of the Outrage from Contemporaneous Newspaper Files.

The interest manifested in the several contributions printed in former volumes of Records and Studies on the anti-Catholic outrage that destroyed the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, warrants the reproduction from the files of the *Jesuit,* Boston's first Catholic paper, of the contemporaneous account of this act of vandalism.

Bishop Fenwick established the *Jesuit* or *Catholic Sentinel* "to explain, define and defend the principles of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" in 1829, the first number bearing the date, Saturday, September 5, of that year. The office was at No. 14 State street; "Published weekly (to appear every Saturday) by S. Condon and F. S. Eaton for the Proprietors, at $3 per annum in advance." The title chosen by Bishop Fenwick was not popular and, after four months, in answer to increasing protests from timid patrons he changed it to the *Catholic Intelligencer.* He repented of the change in a short time and restored the original title, under which the paper appeared until the issue of December 27, 1834, when this statement was made:

"The *Jesuit* after this number will assume a new form and a new title. It will be known henceforth by the name of the *Irish Catholic Sentinel.* The editorial department, as it has been already stated, will in future be directed by Mr. George Pepper."

There seems to have been some hitch about this change, for the files show that during most of the year 1834 the title carried was the *Literary and Catholic Sentinel.* The last

number of the *Jesuit* bears the date of December 27, 1834. During 1835 another attempt was made to carry it along under the title *Literary and Catholic Sentinel* without much success, Smith & Davis, who had taken hold, on December 19, 1829, being the publishers of record. Finally when this effort also languished, two other printers, Henry L. Devereux and Patrick Donahoe, started in afresh at No. 11 Devonshire street with the Boston *Pilot,* the first number of which was published on "Saturday morning, January 2, 1836," George Pepper and Dr. J. S. Bartlett, editors. Patrick Donahoe had worked on the paper as a printer for a year previously and from that date until his death in 1901 his name is inseparably linked with its fortunes, as it is with the steady growth of Catholic New England.

The following account of the burning of the Charlestown convent is taken from the *Jesuit* of August 16, 1834.

T. F. M.

It is our painful duty to record one of the most atrocious and disgraceful acts of violence ever perpetrated in any clime or civilized country. We allude to the destruction, by a lawless and fanatical mob, on last Monday night, of the magnificent Convent erected a few years since in Charlestown by Bishop Fenwick of this city. This splendid institution had, for its object, the education of young ladies in all the branches of polite learning, and at the time of the woful disaster in question had actually under the government of the Ursuline Ladies between fifty and sixty young ladies, chiefly of the best families of Massachusetts.

A report had been industriously circulated for several weeks previous that a young lady was detained in this Convent against her will—that she was immured in a dungeon and there cruelly treated. However absurd the report, the fanatical creatures in Boston and the adjacent towns seemed glad of so favorable an opportunity to excite the public, and mani-

fested every disposition to take all the advantage of it they could to asperse the Catholic religion and decry its institutions. Inflammatory sermons were preached in the neighboring towns, and in one or two churches in Boston, particularly in the Baptist church in Hanover street, as we have been given to understand, with a view to rouse the people against Catholicity. Even Dr. Beecher could not forbear assailing it last Sunday in three sermons which he delivered in three different churches, availing himself of the opportunity which his return to this city afforded him of warning the public of the dangers of Popery as evidenced by its general prosperity. Such violent fanatics are evidently the most dangerous of the enemies to good order, and to the peace and harmony of society.

However this may be, a small body of men were seen hovering about the Convent between eight and nine o'clock on Monday night. Shortly after, a car laden with tar barrels and combustibles passed on to the spot. These were soon set on fire as signals. The crowd then began to increase—shouts were uttered accompanied with blasphemous speeches, and the most horrid yells and vilest imprecations. The doors and windows of the Convent were speedily broken in by stones and other missiles, when the mob rushed in and in an instant began the work of destruction. The children were hastily taken out of bed and hurried out of the house—who all happily effected their escape, though half naked, to the neighboring houses. The Nuns and Superior were the last to leave the dwelling. In a moment after, the entire building was in a blaze; but not before the most valuable articles in it and which could be conveniently removed were seized upon by the band of ruffians that had entered it. The Nuns saved nothing, not even a change of clothes. The Tabernacle itself, with the holy altar, was rifled, the Sacrament taken out of the blessed ciborium and thrown into the fields. A few species only of it were afterwards picked up and restored. From the house they pro-

ceeded to the sanctuary of the dead. At the bottom of the garden a beautiful tomb had been constructed which contained the bodies of five or six nuns. These were torn out of their coffins and exposed. We shall make no comment on these proceedings—they speak for themselves.

The following documents will show how unjustifiable was all this brutality; and how groundless the rumours which were made a pretense for exercising it.

"To the Editor of the Boston *Morning Post*:

"Some excitement having been created in this vicinity by misrepresentations that have come before the public in relation to the disappearance of a young lady from the Nunnery in this place, I deem it proper for me to state certain facts that are in my possession respecting the affair.

"On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th ult., the lady in question came to my house, appeared to be considerably agitated and expressed her wish to be conveyed to the residence of an acquaintance in West Cambridge. I lent her my assistance; and on the succeeding day I called with the purpose of inquiring for the causes which induced her to leave the Institution. I was informed that she had returned to the Nunnery in company with the Bishop with a promise that she should be permitted to leave in two or three weeks, if it was her wish. Since that time various rumours have been in circulation, circulated to excite the public mind, and to such an extent as induced me to attempt to ascertain their foundation. Accordingly, on Saturday, the 9th inst., I called at the Nunnery and requested of the Superior an interview with the lady referred to. I obtained it, and was informed by her that she was at liberty to leave the institution at any time she chose. The same statement was also made by the Superior, who further remarked that, in the present state of public feeling, she should prefer to have her leave.

"As it has been currently reported that the lady was not to

be found, to allay the excitement in consequence of it I have thought the above statement due to the public.

"Edward Cutter.

"Charlestown, August 11, 1834."

"To the Public:

"Whereas erroneous statements have appeared in the public papers intimating that the liberty of a young lady was improperly and unlawfully restrained at the Convent in this town, and believing that said publications were intended to excite the public mind against that institution, and might result in unpleasant or serious consequences, the selectmen, considering it their duty to endeavor to allay any such excitement, at the request of the government of the institution fully examined into the circumstances of the case and were conducted by the lady in question throughout the premises, and into every apartment of the place—the whole of which is in good order and nothing appearing to them to be in the least objectionable; and they have the satisfaction to assure the public that there exists no cause of complaint on the part of said female, as she expresses herself to be entirely satisfied with her present situation, it being that of her choice and that she has no desire or wish to alter it.

"Thomas Hooper,
"Abijah Monroe,
"Samuel Poor,
"Stephen Wiley,
"John Runey,
Selectmen.

"Charlestown, August 11, 1834."

We are happy to have it in our power to state in conclusion that there is but one opinion pervading the community at large, in relation to this atrocious, diabolical deed—and in hurling upon it the detestation it deserves, as the following will show:

(From the *Commercial Gazette*)

GREAT MEETING AT FANEUIL HALL

One of the fullest and most animated meetings we ever witnessed assembled yesterday at an hour's notice in the old Cradle of Liberty. The subject of mobs and mob-law, always so exciting, we have hitherto read and heard of, it never having before come home so closely to the business and bosoms of every Bostonian. Charles P. Curtis, Esq., called the meeting to order after having briefly stated that the unparalleled outrage which took place in Charlestown the night before, was the occasion of it. Theodore Lyman, Jr., Esq., Mayor of the City, was unanimously called to the Chair and Zebedee Cook, Jr., appointed Secretary. Col. Quincy now stated, that as President of the Common Council he felt it incumbent upon him, for, and in behalf of the people, to offer the resolutions which will be found below, and which, after some very eloquent and pertinent remarks from the mover, and after having undergone one or two amendments from other quarters, were unanimously adopted. Previous to this, however, the Hon. H. J. Otis rose to address the meeting amidst the most deafening applause, which was more than once repeated in the course of his most animated and eloquent remarks. It was pleasant once again to meet the splendid orator on the theatre of his youthful glory, and totally unprepared as he was, we must say we have seldom, if ever, heard him to greater advantage. There was the same music in his voice, the same elegance in his gestures, the same beauty and felicity of expression, for which he has so long and so justly been conspicuous. The frost of age is on his brow, but the glow of youthful ardor was still predominant at his heart, and the thunders of applause which made old Faneuil Hall ring again, were sufficient evidence that he still occupies the same high place in the affections of his fellow citizens.

It was indeed a cheering sight to see with what alacrity the people of all ages and descriptions came forth in the support of law and order and for the suppression of a lawless and unprincipled mob; and we can have no doubt that the praiseworthy exertions of our excellent Mayor in this emergency will be met with a corresponding feeling on the part of his fellow citizens.

Resolved, That in the opinion of the citizens of Boston, the late attack on the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, occupied only by defenseless females, was a base and cowardly act, for which the perpetrators deserved the contempt and detestation of the community.

Resolved, That the destruction of property and danger of life cause thereby, calls loudly on all good citizens to express, individually and collectively, the abhorrence they feel of this high handed violation of laws.

Resolved, That we, the Protestant citizens of Boston, do pledge ourselves, collectively and individually, to unite with our Catholic brethren in protecting their persons, their property and their civil and religious rights.

Resolved, That the Mayor and Aldermen be requested to take all measures consistent with law, to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect, and as citizens we tender our personal services to support the laws under the direction of the City Authorities.

Resolved, That the Mayor be requested to nominate a committee of twenty-eight, from the citizens at large, to investigate the proceedings of the last night, and to adopt every suitable mode of bringing the authors and abettors of this outrage to justice.

The following resolution was offered on motion of John C. Park, Esq.:

Resolved, That the Mayor be authorized and requested to offer a very liberal reward to any individual, who, in case of

further excesses, will arrest and bring to punishment a leader in such outrages.

On motion of Mr. George Bond, the committee of twenty-eight were requested to consider the expediency of providing funds to repair the damage done to the Convent.

The following persons compose the Committee proposed in the above resolution:—

H. G. Otis, John D. Williams, James T. Austin, Henry Lee, James Clark, Cyrus Alger, John Henshaw, Francis J. Oliver, Mark Healy, Charles G. Loring, C. G. Greene, Isaac Harris, Thomas H. Perkins, John Rayner, Henry Gassett, Daniel D. Brodhead, Noah Brooks, H. F. Barker, Z. Cook, Jr., Geo. Darracott, Samuel Hubbard, Henry Farnum, Benj. F. Hallett, John K. Simpson, John Cotton, Benj. Rich, William Sturgis, C. P. Curtis.

Fears were entertained yesterday that there would be fresh disturbances last evening. It was reported that the Irish labourers on the Worcester, Lowell, and Providence railroads were on their way to the city, in great numbers, for the purpose of aiding their Irish brethren in avenging the insult that was offered to them by the destruction of the Catholic seminary at Charlestown. It is true, we believe, that several hundred of these labourers arrived in this city last evening; but we have heard of no acts of violence on their part, or from any other quarter. The evening passed off quietly, at least so far as this city is concerned, although the streets were thronged until a late hour. We have rarely seen so many people abroad as there was last evening.

Much credit is due to Bishop Fenwick, for the exertions he made to dissuade the Catholics from all acts of retaliatory violence. He despatched five or six priests in different directions during the afternoon, to intercept the labourers who were known to be on their way to Boston, and instruct them not to raise a finger in defence of what they consider their

violated rights. This was a judicious movement, considering the unparalleled state of excitement into which our citizens have been suddenly thrown, by the outrageous conduct of a portion of the people of Cambridge and Charlestown.

We understand that all the Independent Light Infantry Companies were under arms last night, prepared with ball cartridges to act in any emergency which might require their services. Hundreds of respectable citizens were also "on hand," to aid the civil and military authorities. Most sincerely do we hope that there may be no occasion for them to act.

PROTESTANT COMMENDATION FOR THE BISHOP.

So great was the excitement among the Catholics yesterday that Bishop Fenwick deemed it necessary to call them together in the afternoon, at the church in Franklin street. At 6 o'clock, several hundred were assembled, when the Bishop came in and addressed them for about thirty minutes in a most eloquent and judicious manner. He deserves the warmest commendation from his Protestant fellow-citizens for the admirable style in which he managed this business. Previous to speaking, the Bishop read a part of the fifth chapter of Matthew, containing the following among other verses:

"You have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, not to resist evil, but if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other:

"And if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him. And whosoever will force thee one mile, go with him other two.

"You have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thy enemy. But I say to you, love your enemies, do good to them that hate; and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you."

Bishop Fenwick then proceeded to address his hearers, embracing several hundred of both sexes. He spoke of the

destruction of the Ursuline Convent and adjacent buildings. He spoke also of the beauty and utility of that institution, and alluded to its growing popularity among the intelligent classes, both in this vicinity and at a distance. Among the pupils of the institution were some from Louisiana, and the West India Islands. After denouncing the conduct of the incendiaries in appropriate terms, he asked "What is to be done? Shall we say to our enemies, you have destroyed our buildings, and we will destroy yours? No, my brethren, this is not the religion of Jesus Christ—this is not in accordance with the spirit of that blessed religion we all profess. Turn not a finger in your own defence, and there are those around you who will see that justice is done you."

The Bishop then complimented the City Authorities and others for the stand they had taken in defense of the rights of the Catholics; and he assured his hearers that they had the sympathies of all respectable citizens. The destruction of the Convent, he said, was an act of the most degraded of the human species, and it met with no favour from the intelligent people of Boston. He impressed upon the minds of his Catholic brethren the fact that it was not their duty to seek revenge for this vile act; and said that that man was an enemy to the religion he professed, and would put the Catholic Church in jeopardy, who should raise a finger against their opponents at this time.

The Bishop said he had no fears that those who were present would act in opposition to his advice; and if any acts of violence were committed, it would be by those who, with, perhaps, a commendable ardour and alacrity, were rushing to their aid from a distance, and who may not have correct information on the subject. He enjoined it upon all present as a solemn duty to inform these individuals—if they should fall in with any of them—of what he had said, and the advice he had just given them.

He concluded his admirable remarks—which were delivered in a most impressive manner—by assuring his hearers that the Public Authorities were not idle spectators of what was passing. They are on the alert, (said he), and it is your duty to remain quiet, to remain peaceable, and they will see you righted.

We hope the Bishop will furnish us with a copy of his address for publication. It would be read with a high degree of satisfaction by his Protestant fellow citizens.

The value of the buildings destroyed at Charlestown on Monday evening is estimated at $20,000. They cost that sum. The furniture of the principal house was elegant and costly, and was probably worth about as much more. There were ten or twelve pianofortes, some of them splendid instruments—three harps, one of which cost $500—and five guitars, among the articles destroyed. The females lost all their clothing, except what they had on when they flew from the incendiaries. The above facts were obtained from a source that may be relied on.

Early the following morning (the 12th inst.) the Bishop sent three carriages in quest of the Nuns. They were found in different houses in the neighborhood. One of them was in a dying condition, being under a deep consumption at the time; another in a state of mental derangement, reproduced by the noise and tumult attending on the dreadful occasion; all of them, in short, in a state of great debility, in consequence of the continual watching for several days previous. It was surprising to see after so gross an outrage and so much suffering, the calm, the tranquility which beamed upon their countenances and their perfect resignation under the grievous calamity. Not a word of reproach—not a complaint was suffered to escape their lips. They, undoubtedly, felt (and who could not but feel!), for the act was base, was cowardly and cruel. From the houses in which they had taken shelter during the

night, they were conducted to the house of the Sisters of Charity, in Hamilton Street, in Boston, where they now are in a state of absolute destitution, subsisting solely on alms and the charity of their friends.

The amount of property lost by this execrable deed is exceedingly great. Twenty thousand dollars will scarcely restore even the building alone, which they have lost; and we may venture to assert, that the half of that sum will not replace the valuable furniture and costly instruments of music belonging to the Convent, and with which it was usefully adorned; for it is well known (and who knew it better than the intelligent and discerning citizens of Boston) that no expense had been spared to render it one of the most splendid establishments of female education in this or any other country. The devotion of parents to it could not be excelled—their confidence in those to whom they had entrusted their children, could nowhere be equalled. Notwithstanding all the alarms which fanaticism had excited during several weeks previous, and the menaces which had been continually uttered against the institution, not a single parent would withdraw his child from it. No, all of them, on the contrary, preferred to continue their children in it to the very last, at every hazard. They, too, have been great sufferers by this horrid act. Pianos of great value, belonging to several of the children, harps, guitars, gold watches, silver goblets and spoons, with all their clothing—these are among the losses which they have experienced. Some of them had been there for several years, and during this time had laid up a large provision of painting, of ornamental needlework and of other beautiful specimens of their industry, with which they had hoped to charm and delight the eyes of their beloved parents, on their return home in a few months more—these, also, have been all destroyed, to the exceedingly great regret of these dear little ones, and to the no small disappointment of their friends.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the excellent Mayor of Boston, and upon the city authorities generally, for their prompt, manly and judicious arrangements in protecting Catholic property in this city, when menaced by the same infernal mob of incarnate devils, as soon as they began to manifest a disposition to renew in Boston the scene which they had perpetrated in Charlestown. For, while they were suffered by the authorities in Charlestown, (who, assuredly, should have lost no time in protecting, at least, what remained of the properties of the unfortunate convent), to continue during the entire of the following day and night their depredations, upon the fences, the fruit trees, the vines—even upon the dead in the tomb, and remaining walls of the once splendid building, without having taken a single precaution, or stationed a single municipal officer to interrupt such a wanton destruction, the magistrates of Boston, to their honor be it spoken, were constantly upon the alert; and by the wise, prudent and judicious methods which they at once adopted and vigorously acted upon, have gained the esteem and confidence of all their fellow men, and elicited the loud approbation of every good and virtuous citizen.

Meeting at Cambridge.

A meeting of the citizens of Cambridge, holden at the town hall in said town, on Wednesday, the 13th day of August, A. D., 1834, called for the purpose of expressing the opinion of the town in relation to the late destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown.

The following resolutions were presented and unanimously adopted by said meeting, viz.:—

Resolved, That we, the inhabitants of Cambridge, view with abhorrence the flagrant violation of private rights, in the destruction of the Ursuline Convent, on Monday last; and that we earnestly desire that the perpetrators may be discovered and brought to justice.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the innocent sufferers from this criminal and disgraceful attack upon a building occupied only by defenceless women and children.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to communicate the sentiments of this meeting to the Catholic Bishop of the diocese, and to the Superior of the Convent.

Voted. That the committee referred to in the last resolution consist of Hon. Judge Story, Hon. Judge Fay, Ephraim Buttrick, Esq., William Wells, Esq., and Nathaniel R. Whitney, Esy.

A True Copy. Attest:

John R. Tarbell, Secretary.

We copy the following from the *Transcript* of Wednesday:

THE OUTRAGE.—The general excitement occasioned by the proceedings of night before last at Charlestown, and which yesterday—for the honor of the city be it said—raged among us with an earnestness corresponding to the atrocious character of that affair, has today, in a good degree, subsided. To the active exertions of the Mayor and other municipal authorities—the spirit and unanimity with which these were seconded by the whole community, and especially the great meeting called at Faneuil Hall—and finally, to the very commendable course pursued, as will be seen, by Rev. Bishop Fenwick—must it be attributed, that, after so stormy a day, the night passed off without disturbance in any direction. At Charlestown, also, the proceedings of a public meeting undoubtedly had a similar effect.

JOHN A. MOONEY AND HIS LITERARY WORK.

COMPILED BY E. P. HERBERMANN.

While climbing with a boy companion in the foothills of the Adirondacks on July 31, 1903, John Aloysius Mooney stepped into a concealed cleft at the edge of a steep cliff, and falling to the ravine below was killed. Thus was ended the mortal career of an accomplished Catholic gentleman and one of the most versatile and entertaining writers of his day in his native New York City. He was born there in 1839 and made his college course at St. Francis Xavier's, where he was graduated with the Class of 1859. On leaving college he spent a short time in business with his father, but abandoned that plan to devote himself to literary studies, travel and writing, for which his private fortune gave him ample opportunity. His Alma Mater honored him with the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1889, and a similar distinction was conferred on him by Fordham University. He was one of the founders of the Xavier Alumni Sodality, of the Catholic Club that grew out of the Sodality, and of the Catholic Summer School. Archbishop Corrigan held him in the highest esteem and had projected a compilation of the New York diocesan archives by Dr. Mooney that the death of the prelate frustrated. Dr. Mooney prepared the memorial volume that was published (1902) after the Archbishop's decease. During the last years of his life Dr. Mooney spent his time and abilities without thought of recompense wherever he hoped to advance the cause of truth, and to defend the Faith of which he was so sturdy a champion. By his will his valuable private library was given to St. Francis Xavier's and Mt. St. Vincent Colleges, and from his fortune special sums were set aside to found prizes to be awarded for annual competitive essays by the students at these institutions. Similar provision was

made endowing prize competitions in the New York parochial schools so that even after his death he might still continue to aid the progress of Catholic education in which he had always been so strongly interested. He was a member of our Society from its inception. The following chronological record of his literary work is made from his own notes:

Contributions to the *American Catholic Quarterly Review:*

1885, July: "The School Question in Belgium."

1886, April: "Art and Artists—Giorgio Vasari."

1887, July: "Professor Janssen and other modern German Historians." (A sketch of the historians of Germany since the sixteenth century and a review of the German historians of Germany in the nineteenth century and especially of the *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters: von Johannes Janssen.)*

1888, July: "Johannes Janssen, Germany's Great Historian." (A sketch of Janssen's life and a review of all his works.)

1889, January: "The Last Four Years in Belgium." July: "The Popes of the Renaissance and their latest Historians." (A review of Ludwig Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste,* Vol. I; of Canon Creighton's *History of the Papacy,* Vols. I and II; of Ranke's *History of the Popes,* Vol. I.) October: "Mont Saint Michel—Church, Abbey and Fortress." Signed, M. A. J. October: "Giordano Bruno."

1890, January: "Our Recent American Catholic Congress and its Significance." April: "Ausonio Franchi—the Great Italian Philosopher's Noble Reparation." October: "The Popes of the Renaissance." A review of Ludwig Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste,* Vol. II, and of Creighton's *History of the Papacy,* Vols. II and III.

1891, April: "The Popes and the Temporal Power—1790-1823." July: "The Popes and the Temporal Power—1823-1846." October: "The Two Sicilies and the Camorra."

1892, January: "Pius IX and the Revolution—1846-1848." July: "Pius IX among Friends and Foes—1848." October: "Columbus and the Scientific School." (A criticism of Justin Winsor and of other biographers.)

Book Reviews published in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review:*

1889, July: *Le Socialisme d'Etat et La Réforme Sociale,* par Claudio Jannet, Paris, 1889.

1890, October: *An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature,* by Brother Azarias, New York, 1890; *La Réforme Sociale et le Centenaire de la Révolution,* Paris, 1890.

1891, April: *La République Américaine Etats Unis,* par Auguste Carlier, IV Vols. Paris, 1890.

1892, July: *Christopher Columbus, His Life and His Work,* by Charles Kendall Adams, New York, 1892; *Phases of Thought and Criticism,* by Brother Azarias, Boston and New York, 1892; *Le Capital, la Spéculation, et La Finance au Dixneuvième Siècle,* par Claudio Jannet, Paris, 1892.

1893, April: *Most Reverend John Hughes, Archbishop of New York,* by Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., New York, 1892.

Articles published in the *Rosary Magazine:*

1891, June: "Pigmies"; October, November, December: "St. Dominic's Tomb—The Cradle of Modern Art."

1892, April: "Christopher Columbus—High Soar, Great Fall"; June, July: "Christopher Columbus and Don Diego di Deza," Nos. I and II; December: "Columbus the Catholic."

1893, January to August inclusive: "Sanda Muhuna's Palace —A Tale of Far India" (Serial); November: "Giants."

1894, April: "Random Thoughts about Writing"; November: "The Astor Library."

1895, July, August, September: "Zola at Lourdes"; November: "Columbus Among Liars."

1896, January: "Columbus the Governor"; February: "Co-

lumbus and the Cannibals"; April: "Slavery at Home and Abroad"; June: "Slaves, Black, Red, White and Mixed"; September: "Civilization, Law and Liberty in Mediæval Spain."

1897, January: "Slavery Under Spanish Law"; March: "Columbus and the Rebellious Indians"; May: "A Last Word About Columbus and Slavery"; August: "A Reminiscence of Professor George E. Hardy."

Articles published in the *Seminary*, a magazine published in New York during the building of Dunwoodie Seminary:

1892, October: "Columbus and the Cross"; November: "Catholic Parochial Schools, Facts and Figures"; December: "Public Schools of New York State, Latest Official Reports."

1893, January: "New York State Public Schools—Additional Facts and Figures"; from the latest public reports; March: "The Public Schools as Experts See Them"; June: "The Santa Maria"; August: "The Blind Organist of St. Etienne du Mont"; September: "Columbus and Castelar," No. I; October: "Columbus and Pinzon," No. II; "Christian Art for Christian Homes." Signed Michael Byrne.

1894, January: "The Mythical and the Real Pinzon"; February: "Church Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church and Its Painful Anxiety About Catholic Countries." Signed, Austin Fisher Manning Cutter; December: "The Belgian Elections of October—Triumph of the Catholic Conservative Party."

1895, January: "The Catholic Church in Portugal"; February: "A Noble Catholic Writer—Claudio Jannet"; "The Social Question in Belgium," "Zola's Lourdes," No. I.

1895, April: "Moral Depravity in France"; May, June, September, "Emile Zola"; "The Spoliation of the Papacy—The Monstrous Crime of Porta Pia"; December: "Emile Zola's Talent."

1896, February: "Cardinal Satolli—A Biographical Sketch of His Eminence"; May and June, "The Men Who Govern France.

Portraits of the French Ministry," Nos. I and II; September: "Christian Democracy as Expounded by Dr. John McDowell Leavitt, Ex-President of the Lehigh University."

Book Reviews in the *Seminary:*

1893, February: *The Columbian Celebration,* etc., with full text of the lecture on Catholicity in the Discovery of America, by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P., Louisville, Ky., 1892; July: *Raport sur les Travaux de l'Association Valentin Haüy pendant l'année* 1892, par Maurice de la Sizeranne, Paris, 1893; August: *"Why, When, How and What We Ought to Read,* by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P., Boston, 1893; September: *The Life and Letters of M. P. O'Connor* New York, 1893; October: *Mes Notes sur Les Aveugles,* par Maurice de la Sizeranne, Paris, 1893.

1894, November: *Catholic Literature in Catholic Homes,* by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P., New York, 1894.

Articles published in the *Catholic Total Abstinence News* of Philadelphia:

1889, March 29: "Irish Church Architecture." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "How and Why We Stutter." Signed, Austin Bryan; April 2 and April 9: "The Irish Smiths," Parts I and II. Signed, Theobald O'Curry; April 16: "Irish Artists of the Pen and the Brush." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; April 23: "Irish Sculptors and Stonecutters." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; April 30: "The Irish Genius." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; May 7: "The Irish Harp." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; May 21: "Flies—A Warning." Signed, Austin Bryan; "The Humorist of the *Century Magazine."* Signed, Theobald O'Curry; May 28: "The *Century Magazine's* Comic History of Christian Ireland." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "Drop-it-in-the-Slot Art." Signed, Austin Bryan; June 4: "The *Century Magazine's* Humorous Plea for Home Rule." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "Christian Crows." Signed, Austin Bryan; June 11: "Patricius Alive, in the *Century Magazine."* Signed, Theobald O'Curry; June 25: "The Carrier

Bee." Signed, Austin Bryan; July 2: "The Irish On An Island to Themselves" in the *Century Magazine.* Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "Modern Valuation of Monkish Work." Signed, Austin Bryan; July 2, 9 and 16: "How to Drink in Summer," Parts I, II and III. Signed, Austin Bryan; July 9: "A Simple-hearted Genius in the *Century Magazine.*" Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "The Light of a Good Woman's Eyes." Signed, Austin Bryan; "Marriage in England Under the Penal Laws." Signed, Alban True; July 16: "English Catholics in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Signed Alban True; July 23: "John and Charles in a Muddle—in the *Century Magazine.*" Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "How the Franciscans and the Dominicans Precipitated the Reformation, in the *Century Magazine.* Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "Shooting Stars," Part I. Signed, Austin Bryan; July 30: "Shooting Stars," Part II. Signed, Austin Bryan; August 6: "A Serious Word with the *Century Magazine.*" Signed, Theobald O'Curry; "The Flowers of St. Patrick." Signed, Theobald O'Curry; August 20: "The Comic Irish Millennium in the *Century Magazine.*" Signed, Theobald O'Curry; October 15, October 22, December 10 and December 31: "The Mystery of Life," Parts I, II, III, IV. Signed, Austin Bryan.

Articles published in the *Catholic World:*

1890, January 14: "Mind Their Eyes." Signed, Austin Bryan.

1888, May: "The House Deadly"; June: "Our Drinks and our Drunkards"; July: "The Beer Drinker's Trust"; August: "Aqua Pura"; November: "Our Little Enemies"; December: "Italian Liberty." Signed, Carlo Speranza.

1889, February: "How the Blind See."

1892, July: "The Catholic Summer School."

1897, May: "A Worm in an Awful Hiatus."

Articles published in the *Xavier,* the College Journal of St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City:

1888, April: Reminiscences of St. Francis Xaxier's College; "The Early Days—A Leaf of Ancient History"; July: Reminiscences of St. Francis Xavier's College—"Old Times."

1889, June: "A Reminiscense of 1857-1859"; July: "Mr. Shea."

1896, January: "A Reminiscence of Father Michael Nash, S.J."

Articles published in the *New World,* Chicago:

1892, October 8: "Joseph Ernest Renan"; October 29: "Christ or Voltaire"; November 26: "A Portrait of Crispi, the Italian Politician."

1893, January 7: "Actual French Politics—A Sketch of M. Brisson"; February 4: "Ferdinand de Lesseps"; March 11: "The Spirit of the Times—Its Representative Types in Germany, Italy and France."

1893, November 4: "Will the Pope Leave Rome?"; November 25: "Erratic Emilio Castelar"; December 16 and 28: "True and False Democracy—Jean Jacques Rousseau," Parts I and II.

Articles published in the *Catholic Family Annual:*

1890: "David Rothe, 1572-1650"; "Claude Ferdinand Gaillard"; "Donatello"; "The Surprise at Anagni."

1891: "Correggio"; "The Jubilee of Cardinal Manning"; "The Centenary of Father Matthew"; "Benvenuto Cellini."

1892: "Columbus—The Christ-Bearer"; "Brunelleschi's Dome."

1893: "Madonna Properzia."

Articles published in the *Educational Review:*

1892, March: "The Catholic Controversy About Education"; June: A review of: *The State Last,* a study of Dr. Bouquillon's pamphlet: *Education, to Whom Does It Belong?* with a supplement reviewing Dr. Bouquillon's *Rejoinder to Critics,* by Rev. James J. Conway, S.J. (The latter is a book review.)

Booklets published with the imprint of the Catholic Publication Society Company, New York:

1890, January: "Who Was Bruno?—a Direct Answer to a Plain Question, from the Latest Published Documents."

1892, January: 'Columbus—The Christ-Bearer," illustrated.

Articles published in the *Children of Providence Magazine,* a yearly issued by the Sisters of Charity for the benefit of their Bahama Mission:

1895, January: "A Famous Florentine Fool."

1897, January: "A Colored Brother."

Articles published in the *American University Magazine,* New York City:

1896, November: "The College of St. Francis Xavier," Part I, Part II, January, 1897.

Article published in *La Reforme Sociale,* Paris, France:

1890, February: "Le Centenaire de l'Eglise Catholique aux Etats Unis."

Article published in the *Catholic Reading Circle Review:*

1891, May: "Dominic of Guzman and Francis Bernardone."

Article published in the *Annals of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart:*

1894, January: "The Virgin's Ring."

Articles published in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart:*

1897, April: "Jeanne d'Arc: From Domremy to Chinon"; May: "Jeanne d'Arc: From Chinon to Rheims"; June: "Jeanne d'Arc: From Rheims to Rouen"; July: "Jeanne d'Arc: From Dungeon to Scaffold"; August: "Jeanne d'Arc: From Rouen to Rome"; September: "Jeanne d'Arc: Rome's Justice"; October: "Jeanne d'Arc: In Paradise."

Editorials printed in the *Catholic News,* New York City:

1893, February 5: "The State of the Church"; "The Public School System of New York City"; "Fin de Siècle Government"; "To Parents and Guardians"; February 12: "Our Theatres"; "Divorce"; "Public Schools and Morals"; "The Virgin and a Christian Observer"; February 19: "Notes from Harvard

University"; "The Golden Jubilee of Leo XIII"; "The Holy Bible."

All articles not otherwise indicated are signed: John A. Mooney.

The list of Book Reviews given above is imperfect. Others were written for the *American Catholic Quarterly Review;* for the *Seminary* and for the *Rosary Magazines,* but no mention of them is made in Mr. Mooney's notes.

ARMY STATISTICS OF THE CIVIL WAR

By Thomas F. Meehan

During the early Summer of 1918 anti-Catholic bigots spent considerable time and postage in circulating the following document through the mails:

"Who Did the Deserting During the Civil War?

"In reply to the boasts so freely made by Roman Catholic editors and orators that the Irish fought the battles of the Civil War and saved the Nation, the following document, received from Washington, is here given:

"Whole number of troops engaged in the Northern Army, 2,128,200; natives of the United States 1,625,267; Germans, 180,-817; Irishmen, 144,221; British (other than Irish), 90,040; other foreigners, 87,855.

"The desertions were as follows: Natives of the United States, 5 per cent; Germans 10 per cent; Irish Catholics, 72 per cent; British (other than Irish), 7 per cent; other foreigners, 6 per cent.

"In other words, of the 144,000 Irishmen that enlisted 104,000 deserted, and it is reliably stated that most of these desertions occurred after the recognition of the Confederacy by the Pope.

"It is also a fact that of the 5 per cent of the native Americans rated as deserters, 45 per cent of the 5 per cent were Roman Catholics."

When a copy of these "statistics" was presented for verification at the Adjutant General's office in Washington, the chief-clerk went to a nearby drawer and from it produced a printed copy of an official memorandum, prepared by the Record and Pension Office of the War Department, to answer this question about "statistics," which keeps bobbing up persistently. This printed answer has been performing service in the cause of historical truth since July 15, 1898. It reads as follows:

"MEMORANDUM

"RELATIVE TO THE NUMBER AND NATIVITY OF DESERTERS FROM THE UNITED STATES ARMY DURING THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

"The actual number of desertions from the United States Army during the late Civil War is unknown, but it has been estimated by this office, from the best data obtainable, that the number of actual deserters at large at the close of the war (making due allowance for those incorrectly reported as deserters) was 117,247.

"Many charges of desertion have been removed by the War Department on the ground of manifest error in the record, and under the acts of July 5, 1884, May 17, 1886, and March 2, 1889, and the acts amendatory thereof. No record has been kept showing the number of cases in which the charge of desertion has been removed by the War Department, and it would be impossible to determine that number, even approximately, without examining the records of the Department from the war period to the present time, and this, of course, is impracticable with the limited clerical force available.

"The whole number of soldiers of any given nativity in the service during the War of the Rebellion is not known and it is impossible from any data yet prepared to make even an approximately correct statement of the number or percentage of deserters of any given nativity.

"When it is understood that the War Department is the sole custodian of the records of the armies in service during the late war, and that it has never made a statement or estimate of the number of deserters of any particular nativity during the war, it will be seen that published statements showing the number or per cent of deserters by nativity are entitled to no credence whatever."

From the same official sources of the Record and Pension Office another memorandum has been issued in regard to the

nativity of soldiers in the United States Army during the War of the Rebellion. This document is as follows:

MEMORANDUM

Relative to the Nativity of Soldiers in the United States Army During the War of the Rebellion

No compilation has ever been made by this Department showing the nativity of the whole number of men accepted for military service during the late Civil War. It appears, however, from the records of the late Provost Marshal General's Bureau, that, of 343,764 "drafted men, recruits and substitutes" examined by the several boards of enrolment of the United States during that war the nativities were as follows:

United States	237,391
Foreign Countries	106,373
Germany	35,935
Ireland	32,473
British America	15,507
England	11,479
France	2,630
Scotland	2,127
Switzerland	1,158
Norway	1,138
Prussia	754
Sweden	687
Other Foreign Countries	2,485

This table, it should be noted, relates to those examined for the military service of the United States, including both those accepted and *those rejected.*

It also appears from medical statistics, compiled in 1875, by Colonel J. H. Baxter, Chief Medical Purveyor of the United States Army, from the records of the same (Provost Marshal General's) Bureau, that, of 501,068 men examined by the several boards of enrolment, subsequent to September 1, 1864, as to

their ability for military service in the United States Army, the nativities were as follows:

United States	341,569
Germany	54,944
Ireland	50,537
British America	21,645
England	16,196
Scotland	3,476
France	3,243
Norway	2,290
Switzerland	1,802
Wales	1,104
Holland	989
Other Foreign Countries	2,083

"Of the total number of men examined, comprised in the foregoing table, but 338,248 were accepted into the service of the United States.

"It is proper to add that no satisfactory or reliable deductions can be made by applying the ratios obtained from either of these compilations to the total number of men serving in the army, as the examinations referred to were only made during the *last two years of the war,* and include both those accepted and *those rejected.*"

Dr. Benjamin A. Gould, who was the Actuary to the United States Sanitary Commission from July, 1864, to the end of the war in 1865, published a bulky volume, the *Statistical* compilation of the *Sanitary Memoirs of the War of the Rebellion, Collected and Published by the U. S. Sanitary Commission.* (The Cambridge Press, 1869.) In this he devotes Chapter XI to the topic of the natives and nationalities of the soldiers, and from the figures he gives writers of a certain class draw most of their assertions. Those who write in good faith give Dr. Gould's own opinion about his statistics. Other writers merely use the figures to bolster the lies they have so industriously invented.

When Dr. Gould came to compile his book he found, as the War Department's official memorandum printed above states, that there were no records made of the race, nativity or religion of the soldiers. In order to overcome, as far as possible, this deficit, he says he sent out a series of questions to about 1,000 commanders of regiments and received some 350 answers. From these he makes his "apparent estimates," figures, which in the absence of actual records, receive scant recognition in these days of exact historical science. Dr. Gould's own words, supplementing the statements of the War Department, best fix the historical authority of his book, and incidentally the quality of all the bogus statistics regarding the Union troops in circulation now, and since this peculiar Know-Nothing and A. P. A. industry began its libels on the loyalty of one of the most important sections of the citizens of the Republic. Here is what is set forth in Dr. Gould's book:

"At almost every stage of our inquiries it becomes desirable to obtain tolerably close information concerning the general statistics of the volunteer army. * * * For obvious reasons no accurate knowledge can be obtained. * * * The materials available for forming a trustworthy estimate of the nativities and even the nationality of our soldiers have been very meagre and estimated by different persons at different times have varied to an almost incredible extent." (p. 15.)

Then, after explaining how he had used the results of his questionnaire-method in working out the "approximate judgment" and "reasonable inference" he arrived at, Dr. Gould is honest enough to declare (p. 26):

"As it is clearly out of the question to form any trustworthy numerical estimate of this mode of estimation, it seems the better course to give the resultant figures after calling attention to this source of inaccuracy in the inference."

With all the resources of the War Department placed at his disposal, Dr. Gould could make no better showing than this.

Moreover the statistics he actually gives, inaccurate and even ridiculous as they are, give absolutely no color to the accusations made against the Irish of the Civil War. Finally there is no better proof of the ignorance or bad faith exhibited by the accusation than the statement that "most of these desertions occurred after the recognition of the Confederacy by the Pope," for even school children know that the Pope did not recognize the Confederacy. It is one of the consolations of these attempts to impeach the loyalty of the Catholics of the United States that a most prominent feature in them is always a self-starting accelerator for the nearest entrance to the domain of Ananias.

These bogus statistics regarding the creed and race of the Union troops during the Civil War were the subject of a controversy in 1896 when the late J. D. O'Connell, who was the Chief Clerk of the Bureau of Statistics, sent a letter on the subject to the New York *Sun*. He also gave me a copy and it seems pertinent now in this recrudescence of the bigot's slander:

To the Editor of the Sun—Sir: The San Francisco *Call* of recent date gives the following statement in regard to the nationalities of the Union Army of the Civil War:

"The number of soldiers who served in the Union Army during the war of the rebellion was 2,018,200. Of this number 1,523,300, or 75.48 per cent, were natives of the United States; 176,800, or 8.76 per cent, were Germans; 144,200, or 7.14 per cent, were Irish; 53,500, or 2.64 per cent, were British-Americans; 48,400, or 2.38 per cent, were foreigners not classified; 45,500, or 2.26 per cent, were English, while 26,500, or 1.33 per cent, were put down as foreigners, nationality not stated." *The above figures are from records at the office of the Military Department at Washington.* (The italics are mine.)

As a matter of fact the number of soldiers of any given nativity in service during the war of the rebellion is not known; and, as the officials of the War Department have stated time and again, and the *Sun* quite as often: "It is not possible, from any

data yet prepared, for that department or any other department of the Government, or for any individual, official or otherwise, to make even an approximately correct statement of the number of soldiers belonging to any particular nationality." Hence all such statements that have been published on this subject are entitled to no credence whatever. And, as the *Sun* said: "The figures purporting to give the proportions of enlisted foreigners are unofficial and false."

The figures said by the San Francisco *Call* to have been taken "from the records of the office of the Military Department" are the "deductions," "approximations," "assumptions," and "suppositions," under the pretence of being accurate, of Benjamin Apthorp Gould, the Actuary of the United States Sanitary Commission from July, 1864, to the close of the war.

"At almost every stage of our inquiries," says Dr. Gould, "it becomes desirable to obtain some tolerably close information concerning the general statistics of the volunteer army. * * * For obvious reasons no accurate knowledge can be obtained; yet the materials exist in published documents for deducing approximate estimates, which seem sufficiently near the truth to serve for most practical purposes."

With respect to the nativities of volunteers, with which subject this communication is specially dealing, Dr. Gould states:

The materials available for forming a trustworthy estimate of the nativities, and even the nationality of our soldiers, have been very meager, and estimates which have been made by different persons at different times have varied to an almost incredible extent. * * * It was not until the war had been waged for some time that the State or county of birth was systematically required upon the enlistment rolls. At first it was recorded in but very few of the States—often no information of the sort was demanded—and even where the enlistment rolls were prepared with care the place of residence was frequently given in the stead of the place of birth. Various considerations connected with

counties, with State aid, and with quotas of the respective towns, actually led, in some instances, to a change in the form of the enlistment blanks, by substituting a column for legal residence or place of enlistment, in the place of that originally provided for the nationality. (p. 5.)

Beset by obstacles, Dr. Gould at last addressed letters to about 1,000 officers making inquiry as to the nativities of their respective regiments, to which about 350 answers were received. This was the mode that Dr. Gould resorted to in basing his calculations and giving his results to the world of the nativities of our volunteer soldiers!

"In some cases," says Dr. Gould, "full records were thus obtained, and in most cases where answers were received the estimates kindly communicated seemed entitled to great reliance." Now, as a matter of fact, the replies received were not worth the paper upon which they were written. These replies are now filed in the New York Historical Society on Second Avenue, New York City, and the gentleman who had more to do with collecting the statistics of the soldiers of our volunteer regiments and their tabulation than Dr. Gould or anybody else, knew and frequently stated to the undersigned (one of his assistants) the utter worthlessness of the data upon which Dr. Gould bases his speculations and deductions respecting the nativities of our soldiers.

Only two sources of information appeared to Dr. Gould to be trustworthy in order to ascertain the place of birth of our volunteers: "First, the actual records in those instances where the needful facts were noted; and, second, such information as could be derived from commanding officers or adjutants of regiments."

With respect to the "actual records," I have already given the opinion of my brother, the late T. J. O'Connell, "the efficient chief clerk of the Statistical Department," by whom, says Dr. Gould, the original material was principally made. The writer of

this was assisting Mr. O'Connell when these data were being collected in the Adjutant-General's office of the War Department, and he remembers very distinctly Mr. O'Connell's very decided opinion as to their worthlessness. Some time in 1862, upon the request of the officers of the United States Sanitary Commission, Gen. E. D. Townsend, with the consent of the Secretary of War, granted permission to Mr. T. J. O'Connell of the Statistical Bureau of the Sanitary Commission to have access to the regimental records of the War Department. Desk room was assigned him in what was then known as the "Roll Room." He closed his labors in the War Department daily at 3 o'clock, and came with his results direct to the Statistical office of the Sanitary Commission. Here it was that, day after day, Mr. O'Connell discussed and commented upon the utter worthlessness of the nativity figures. For instance, hundreds of regimental rolls were examined, with not the name of a single member thereon who was shown to have been born outside of New York City! In almost every instance the place of residence was given instead of the place of birth. This was frequently the subject of comment, and no one in the statistical office at the time ever thought that, so far as the nativities were concerned, these examinations would ever be made the basis of even speculations and deductions. The records at the State capitals, which were subsequently examined, were made up in just the same way as were those in the War Department.

So much for the actual records. Now let us see how Dr. Gould fared at the hands of the commanding officers of regiments. "To about 293,000 inquiries," says Dr. Gould, "the answers received from regimental officers afford a tolerably good estimate, and for the remainder we must resort to reasonable inference!" The records of the Sanitary Commission, now with the New York Historical Society, will show what the Doctor had to encounter in trying to reach his "approximate judgment." The records, "comparatively few and often meagre," as the

Doctor admits, will show that in nearly every instance the responses of the officers to the inquiries of the Sanitary Commission agent, and which have varied to an almost incredible extent, were about as follows:

Question—As to the nativities of your regiment?

Answer—Three-fourths American; the other fourth, Irish, German, and a few English and Scotch.

Question—Colonel, how about the nativities of your regiment?

Answer—Five-sixths American; 1-6 mainly Irish.

And to Dr. Buckley, whom I remember as an exceedingly intelligent and painstaking inspector, the reply of the Adjutant of a German-American regiment as to nativities was as follows: *"Wir sind alle Deutsche! Wir sind alle Deutsche!"*

And Dr. Gould himself states that, in response to an inquiry, Adjutant-General Simpson of the State of Missouri replied that the members of the German-American regiments were "all counted as Germans, because they retained their ancestral usages!" Any person who doubts this statement of exaggeration had better visit the New York Historical Society, consult the records, and have his incredibility cured by evidence of his own eyes.

These are the data upon which Dr. Gould worked out his estimates; this was the "best available source of information," and from these are the figures that are now circulating not only in publications on this continent, but all over the world as the accurate results of Dr. Gould's investigations in regard to the nativities of the United States volunteers. They are but "apparent estimates," says the Doctor, "but seem sufficiently near the truth to serve for most practical purposes." And yet the Doctor adds: "As it is clearly out of question to form any trustworthy numerical estimate of this mode of estimation, it seems the better course to give the resultant figures, after calling attention to this source of inaccuracy in the inferences." (p. 26.) But the newspapers and encyclopedias, and almanacs, and various other prints,

have all failed to call attention to this important and necessary remark.

The accomplished and esteemed Dr. Gould, to his credit be it said, has not attempted to give his deductions and guesses to the public without explanation; he is above such petty work; for on nearly every page of the chapter (11) of the editorial work devoted to nativities, he made it a point to show how impossible it was to reach accurate knowledge on this subject. To the Doctor's everlasting credit let the following candid paragraph from his work be quoted:

"When it is remembered how very considerable is the number of American citizens born in Europe, especially among the inhabitants of our Atlantic cities and several of the Western States, and when it is further borne in mind how promptly these classes responded to the call of their adopted country—accepting the unwonted duties as readily as the well-known privileges of citizenship—it is manifest that the records of nativity, even were they complete, would only indirectly guide to the knowledge of the nationality of our volunteers." (p. 14.)

In giving this letter to the public I am concerned solely in showing that Dr. Gould did not have the data with which to work out anything like approximately correct results. It is not written in a spirit of fault finding, but with the higher object of placing on record for future generations the true facts of history. To remain silent would be to accept and perpetuate a great wrong to the men who composed the volunteer soldiers of the war of 1861-65.

J. D. O'Connell.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 1, 1896.

Mr. O'Connell was always on the watch to contradict these historical misstatements and frequently contributed other proofs of their inaccuracy to the public press. His zealous work bore excellent fruit except in those directions where the truth was not desired. Here the old lies seem to be still flourishing.

JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY

By The Rev. John C. Reville, S.J.

The members of the United States Catholic Historical Society will hold the name of the beloved and deeply regretted Archbishop of New York, John Cardinal Farley, in grateful and lasting remembrance. In the work of the Society, ever since its reorganization in 1897, he took the deepest interest; since 1903 he had been its honorary president. In spite of the well-nigh ceaseless round of his ecclesiastical duties he managed to find the opportunity to contribute to Records and Studies the four chapters on the life of his illustrious predecessor in the see of New York which were later on expanded into the *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*. With the same unflagging zeal and interest which he manifested in all that went to foster the intellectual as well as the spiritual life of his people, he deemed it a duty and a privilege to attend the annual meetings of the Society, and was only absent when duties of a still more important nature made it imperative for him to be active in other fields. Generous as he was in all works of charity, of educational and moral betterment, he did not forget the needs of the Historical Socitey and liberally contributed to its welfare by solid financial aid. He wished earnestly to see its membership and influence increased, and had under way, when he was called to his reward, on September 17, 1918, large plans to further its activities and its usefulness. The Society was not only honored by the membership, the work and the guidance of an eminent scholar, it was helped by the generosity of a noble friend.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, November 29, 1911, His

THE AMERICAN CARDINALS

FARLEY GIBBONS O'CONNELL

Holiness Pope Pius X imposed the cardinalitial berretta on their eminences Cardinals Falconio, di Belmonte, Farley, Bourne, Amette, O'Connell, Dubillard, de Cabrières, Bisleti, Lugari, Pompili, Billot and van Rossum. In answer to the address in which Cardinal Falconio, the dean of the newly created Princes of the Church, thanked the Holy Father for the honor conferred on them, the Pope referred to the enthusiasm with which the appointment of the American Cardinals had been greeted by the people of the United States, and the popular demonstrations which had accompanied their departure for Rome. He thus expressed his happiness and his hope, when turning to the newly appointed American Cardinals, he said:

"The enthusiasm with which the news of your elevation to the Sacred College was received, the demonstrations which were made for you by all classes of citizens, the acclamations, accompanied with blessings, wishes and affectionate greetings on your departure from New York and Boston, and finally your triumphant voyage across the ocean protected by the Papal flag, afford me not only hope, but certainty that the Lord on your return will multiply the fruits of your Apostolate, and that over the hospitable land which receives all peoples of the world, and with well-ordered liberty provides for the universal well-being, the Lord will reign and His glory will shine therein."*

On the heart of one of the hearers, the good shepherd whose loss the Archdiocese of New York mourns, these words made a deep impression. He quoted them among the very first sentences which he spoke in St. Patrick's Cathedral on his return from the Eternal City (January 18, 1912). The priestly heart of John Farley could not but be responsive to the unsolicited manifestations of joy of his own flock and those outside the fold over the great honor conferred upon him when he was appointed to the

*The detailed story of Archbishop Farley's elevation to the Sacred College of Cardinals was contributed by his Grace Archbishop Hayes to Volume IX, January, 1912, of RECORDS AND STUDIES.

College of Cardinals. But his soul was above any thought of worldly honor or prestige which such a position might give. A supreme honor had been conferred upon him; that would only enlarge his influence and opportunities and add a brighter flame to his pastoral zeal. Like Pius X, he had but one hope, that on the return to the land so beautifully described by the Holy Father as the land of a generous hospitality, the land of well-ordered liberty, he might more fully, more chivalrously, even than before, were that possible, carry out the ideals for which, from his boyhood days, he had ever striven.

In the lives of those men who work especially for God there is a wonderful unity. That unity we find in the life of John Cardinal Farley. It was not without a special meaning that the Papal flag floated at the masthead of the ship that bore him across the seas to receive from the hands of Pius X, the insignia of his office. It was a long time since that flag had been seen on the highways of the ocean. It was a splendid augury that on one of the rare occasions when it floated there in the last half-century, it should be unfurled over an American Cardinal, whose whole life as priest, bishop and Prince of the Church was one continued act of loyalty to the Chair of Peter, whose one dream was to extend the kingdom of God and the love of the Church of Rome and of Christ in the hearts of men. That dream had haunted John Farley in his earliest years and it never left him.

John Murphy Farley was born in April, 1842, at Newtown Hamilton, County Armagh, in that North of Ireland, where owing to the opposition and the persecutions of so many years the Faith of the Catholic minority is so sturdy. He came of good old stock, in which piety, patriotism and strength of character had been heirlooms for generations. The life of the future Cardinal, during his early years in the pastoral scenes which make still the beauty of those Irish fields, was that of the normal lively Irish lad, all innocence, simplicity and youthful merriment. Long after the young man had left St. Macartan's

College, where prudent and scholarly masters gave him that love of science, letters and culture, which was one of his chief characteristics, he was remembered as the bright, studious lad, the unswerving observer of the smallest minutiae of college discipline, but whose charm and affability made friends among masters and students alike.

In 1864, John Farley came to the United States. Shortly after landing in New York, he was entered on the rolls of St. John's College, now Fordham University. Here on a wider field and with ampler opportunities than were afforded in St. Macartan's he began to display talents which gave early promise of his coming greatness. Clear-headed, logical and practical he naturally turned to the sciences and to mathematics and literature, and soon mastered the secret of that easy, simple, yet dignified style which marked his utterances. In the lighter accomplishments of letters, he also gave evidence of more than usual gifts and some of the verses of the young student prove that had he enjoyed the leisure, he might have cultivated the gift of song with more than usual success.

In 1865 the future Prince of the Church began his theological studies in immediate preparation for the priesthood in the Provincial Seminary at Troy. His success here was still more marked. The young student had found his true field. His quick and alert mind, ever on the lookout for the solid and the substantial in all things, little satisfied with the mere surface glitter of truth, found in Catholic theology the satisfaction and the rest which it had ever looked for. So marked a place did young Farley gain among his fellow students that at the end of his very first year at the Seminary, he was chosen on the recommendation of his immediate superiors by Archbishop McCloskey, to continue and finish his scholastic career in the North American College at Rome.

He went to Rome in the last days of the Temporal Power of those Sovereigns who had saved the Eternal City from ruin

in the beginning of the Middle Ages, and who had thrown such luster over it for so many centuries. He was to witness all but the very last act of that tragedy of hypocrisy and cruelty which robbed the Popes of what was lawfully theirs by every title of justice and right. While in Rome he witnessed the solemn ceremony of the Canonization of the Japanese martyrs, and was in close contact with the momentous series of events which took place during the Vatican Council. He was ordained priest June 11, 1870, by Cardinal Patrizi. Not quite two months after, he left the Eternal City. By doing so he was spared the painful trial of having to witness the triumphal entrance into the City of the Popes, of Victor Emmanuel's troops through the breach they had made in the Porta Pia, and the humiliation of the Vicar of Christ, in the person of the gentle, but heroic Pius IX.

Rome did a great work for the young levite. It molded him into a model priest. His was essentially a priestly soul. It is as a priest that he will especially be remembered. He had great gifts. Catholics, men of all creeds in New York have seen them at work. Breadth of view, a thorough understanding of the problems of the day, administrative qualities of the highest order, these he had, and used for the noblest ends. With a thorough grasp of the intellectual problems of the hour, he looked at them steadily and calmly. But he refused to depart from the solutions which his Faith, his training, his clear mind, his varied experience of men and things had taught him were absolutely correct and sound. In abstract reasoning, in purely metaphysical questions, in theories as such, he had little interest. Yet he was keenly logical, and an accomplished scholar. But his one passion in life was to deal with the hearts, the souls, the lives of men. He was practical in all things. He socialized his gifts, his innate love of virtue and truth, his sincere and tender piety. Ornaments of his own life, they were the source and the explanation of his influence and his power.

The dead Cardinal spoke the truth when he told his people that his life among them for fifty years as student and priest was an open book. The record he wrought and wrote with his hands and his life, was one of labor, prayer, humility, unselfishness and unceasing fidelity to duty. He could truthfully say that the holy priesthood was the only honor which he had ever ambitioned. Honors came quickly to him. They pursued this gentle cleric and priest from the days when he was a student in St. Macartan's College in his beloved Ireland, and later at St. John's, Fordham, to the hour, when after years as priest and pastor, he was made auxiliary Bishop of New York, then Archbishop and finally Cardinal.

When these high honors came to him they found the shepherd in the midst of his labors. It was thus that the Pope's ambassadors had found St. Bonaventure in the humblest duties of the monastery, when they carried to him a cardinal's hat. The whole priestly life of the late cardinal was passed within the limits of the archdiocese of New York. With the City of New York, its life, its activities, its marvelous growth, its problems, some of them more puzzling than the questions that face many a populous republic and kingdom, he was intimately acquainted. He loved its people, many-tribed and many-tongued. For the energy, the manhood, the push, the epically audacious economic and business enterprise of its citizens, he had the greatest admiration. To America and the American constitution, to America's aims and purpose in the war he was unflinchingly loyal. The governors of the State, the mayors of the city, its professional, business and literary men, time and again expressed their admiration for him in heartfelt and sincere words, praises which filled his soul with gratitude. In the course of his long and useful life in the great city, New York learned to reverence and love this unworldly priest, who had but one desire, to rule his flock as a true and holy bishop, and to let those outside of his

fold know, that if they did not consider him their spiritual father, he looked upon them all as his friends.

John Farley was essentially a man of the sanctuary. He was absolutely unworldly. As a young priest, his first charge was as assistant until 1872, at New Brighton, Staten Island, where he gave evidence of the strong and tender piety, the mental and spiritual equilibrium, the zeal which ever marked him. Then for twelve years as secretary to Cardinal McCloskey, he was unconsciously preparing himself for the duties which one day were to be his in the position then occupied by the first American Cardinal whom he so loyally served.

Appointed its pastor in 1884, for eighteen years he was at St. Gabriel's, in the very heart of the city he loved, daily in contact with the warm heart's blood of the people, keenly alive to their spiritual, social, educational wants, providing for their children and their poor, always giving the example of an untiring, successful and zealous shepherd of the flock of Christ.

In the evolution and development of his character Cardinal Farley ever considered that the years he spent as Rector of St. Gabriel's counted as among the most useful and fruitful of his life. His work there threw him, so to say, into the very midst of the battle going on in the great city between the forces of good and evil. Not for a moment was there ever any doubt that John Farley was on any other side but that of civic, political and spiritual righteousness. At St. Gabriel's he was daily brought into contact with priests and people and gained there that intimate and wide knowledge of the many-sided problems which face the Catholic priest in New York. That experience was to serve him admirably later on in the wider fields soon to be entrusted to him.

In 1891 he was Vicar-General of the archdiocese. Immediately the force of his zeal, his unusual administrative capacity, his practical insight into the complex workings of the vast organization under his control, showed the true worth of the man.

Consecrated Titular of Zeugma and Auxiliary Bishop December 21, 1895, he found a still larger field for his energies, his talents and his powers. On the occasion of Archbishop Corrigan's episcopal silver jubilee he raised $300,000 to clear from debt the diocesan seminary at Dunwoodie. On September 15, 1902, he was appointed Archbishop of New York; November 27, 1911, he was created a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.

When Leo XIII, who knew men and looked quite through their deeds, appointed Bishop Farley to the archdiocese of New York, he knew the pastor and the flock. He realized that the man of his choice was to rule one of the greatest and one of the most thoroughly Catholic sees in the world. Within the limits of this modern Babel, almost all the tongues of man are spoken. Problems that would tax the brains of the greatest educational, financial, social, clerical and administrative experts must be faced almost daily in the chancellery of its first pastor. The Pope was convinced that John Farley would solve them. He was convinced that when difficulties would arise he would not betray his duties or be false to his trust. If the newly appointed Archbishop trembled at the thought that he would have to wear the mantle of Archbishop Hughes, "the hero" and the champion of the rights and liberties of the Church; of Cardinal McCloskey, "the sage," and of Archbishop Corrigan, "the saint," the keen-sighted Leo was absolutely confident that the newly appointed prelate could successfully tread in the path of such illustrious predecessors. To use the words of one of his priests addressed to the Cardinal after his return from the Eternal City: "To have held this portion of the garden of the Lord at the point of fertility and productiveness to which they had brought it, would in itself have been a great achievement." Cardinal Farley did more. Not only did he suffer "no flower or fruit or tree or shrub to wither and decay," but he "added to their beauty, their number and their variety."

The administrative abilities of the Cardinal Archbishop of New

York were mustered into the service of the noblest of causes. He had grown up with the archdiocese and realized its needs. As a country and city pastor, he had seen the needs of the clergy. He loved his priests. They repaid his love with theirs and added to it their unfailing loyalty. For the younger members of the clergy he had a special affection. Cathedral College, Dunwoodie Seminary, where the future priests of the archdiocese undergo their training for their life's work, were especially dear to him. He insisted that the American priest should ever be a man of culture and refinement, fully equipped for the manifold duties of his office, a guide, a leader of his people. He still more emphasized the fact that he should ever be a man of prayer, a man of heroic self-denial, spotless in life and conduct. If he prayed for the greater spiritualization and sanctification of his devoted priests, he gave them above everything else, the inspiring example of his own lofty ideals and childlike piety and faith.

Cardinal Farley was little given to the arts of self-advertising. He was modest and self-effacing. Yet he was a man of keen mental vision and eminently practical. He grasped a situation, saw a problem to be worked out, and calmly set about realizing his ideals or his dream. There were gaps and shortcomings in our Catholic educational system. He endeavored to stop them and to improve our methods. He gave his intelligent and loyal support to the Catholic University at Washington. He took a lively and practical interest in the work and the ideals of the Catholic National Educational Association. Under his administration fifty new Catholic schools were erected and the number of children under Catholic care and instruction was doubled. He loved children and was a firm believer in the efficacy of the prayers of these young and innocent hearts. No solemn celebration was held at his diocese without the presence of the little ones and their teachers at a Mass especially said for them and at which they were, so to say, the guests of honor. Under him one

of his Vicars General presided at the monthly meetings of the Catholic School Board. He saw to the regular visitation and inspection of the parochial schools. The "Cardinal of the Missions" was one of his most prized and deserved titles of honor. For the work of the propagation of the Faith at home and abroad he had most ardent enthusiasm.

An alumnus of St. John's, Fordham, he remained one of her most loyal sons and an advocate of the sterling education which his Alma Mater and her sister colleges uphold. As a young priest, as a pastor in St. Gabriel's, he had suffered with the poor. Out of his own scanty resources he had often relieved their wants. His gentle and sympathetic nature, his warm Celtic heart, throbbed in unison with their sorrows. He was ever their friend. The St. Vincent de Paul Society and its American Ozanam, the lamented Thomas A. Mulry, found in him not only an adviser, but a champion. The spiritual director for many years of that society, he infused into it an enthusiasm and a zeal, and gave evidence of an intelligent and practical insight into the needs of the poor which well deserve the study of the best social workers. When "The Catholic Encyclopedia" was planned he gave it his wholehearted approval. It was launched under his patronage, and he never wavered for a moment through many a crisis in his confidence in its final triumph.

Head of a great diocese, he worked for its financial, religious, educational welfare. Thanks to him, St. Patrick's Cathedral was freed from debt. Successful in relieving the diocesan seminary at Dunwoodie from a heavy financial burden, he was still more so when he collected almost a million for the noblest sacred edifice in the United States and saw it solemnly consecrated to God, October 5, 1910. He was undoubtedly a great administrator. He was more. He was in all things a good shepherd to his flock. He was all-embracing in his sympathy. For the blind the deaf, the dumb, the children, for the homeless orphan, he had a special care. His association, "Workers for God and

Country," counted two thousand Catholic school teachers banded together to watch over the spiritual and moral and educational welfare for the countless immigrants reaching our shores from Catholic countries and who were not reached by the Catholic parochial or Sunday school.

Of the patriotism, the genuine love for America and its ideals which Cardinal Farley felt at every period of his life ever since he came to its shores there never was any doubt. In the great crisis through which we have just passed, his patriotism burned with a pure and unmistakable flame. At the very beginning of the struggle he organized the New York Catholic War Council, to further and to help every patriotic endeavor. That council encouraged and sustained in every possible way by the patriotic Cardinal, opened a Soldiers and Sailors' Club, the Young Women's Catholic Patriotic Club, the Catholic Hospital for shell-shock patients, it extended the sphere of influence and the work of the League of Catholic Women. Thanks to the Cardinal's encouragement and initiative the New York Catholic Campaign Fund was organized in the spring of 1918 for the Knights of Columbus and other war activities and closed with splendid results, for it netted the unprecedented sum of almost $5,000,000. Though sadly in need of the help of his sturdy and generous auxiliary, the Right Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, now his successor in his great see, he dispensed with no small part of that efficient and loyal help to give him to the work of Field Bishop of all our Catholic chaplains engaged in the war. In spite of the urgent needs of his vast diocese, he was large-minded and generous enough to realize that the spiritual claims of the Catholic soldiers were paramount, and that the brave lads who were called upon to serve their country in arms must be provided with all the spiritual help they required. He detailed for that purpose seventy-six chaplains to the army and the navy, and was ready if need be, to send more. His faith in the ideals and the principles of the United States was deep and sincere. He

was honored with the friendship of most public men. Staunch Americans like President Roosevelt and President Taft frequently referred to him in terms of the warmest admiration.

He had unbounded hopes in the success of the Catholic Church in our beloved country. He admired the spirit of tolerance and fair play of the American citizen. He was not afraid to make an appeal to those splendid qualities in order to call attention to a great injustice done to the Catholic Church in other parts of the world. In 1905 he organized a monster meeting in New York, composed of men of all creeds, in protest against the tyrannical measures with which the Government of France was so hypocritically endeavoring to destroy the Catholic church in that noted country.

His heart was open to every appeal, his hands were ready for any task. In John Farley, priest, Bishop and Cardinal, political corruption, Socialism, the gilded immoralities of the stage, found a fearless opponent; the sanctities of the hearth and home, a white-robed and dauntless champion.

"A priest above all things"—such is the tribute which John Farley in his *Life of Cardinal John McCloskey,* pays to his illustrious predecessor in the see of New York. Cardinal Farley was pre-eminently that. Wearing the white flower of a blameless life, while mingling with the world he kept his priestly robes unstained by any taint of worldliness. Differing in many respects from his three immediate predecessors, he was worthy to be counted in the roll of the great bishops, who in the greatest city of the western world have done so much for the welfare of their fellow citizens and for the spread of the kingdom of God. The splendid example of his active and holy life will not be lost on the mighty city, which the dear Cardinal loved. In the midst of hurrying throngs, amidst the hum of the traffic and the sound of passing feet, he sleeps under the arches of his noble cathedral. It is a fit resting place for the good Cardinal of New York.

NECROLOGY.

The Right Rev. Thomas F. Cusack.

The Right Rev. Thomas F. Cusack, fifth Bishop of Albany, New York, died on July 12, 1918, after a long illness.

Bishop Cusack was born in the old Seventh Ward of New York City, on February 22, 1862. He was the son of James and Honora Boland Cusack. His childhood was spent in the lower East Side, and his college course was made at St. Francis Xavier's, where he was graduated with the Class of 1880. He then went to St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, for his theology and was ordained to the priesthood on May 30, 1885. His first assignment was to St. Teresa's Church, at Henry and Rutgers streets. After staying there as assistant for five years he was promoted to the pastorate of St. Peter's Church, Rosendale. In 1897 he resigned his parish to organize the New York Apostolate. On becoming the superior of that band of priests he still resided at St. Teresa's rectory, which became the headquarters of the Apostolate. In this field he was most successful. The work he and his associates accomplished proved the stimulus for the starting of similar bands of missionaries in other dioceses.

Bishop Cusack was appointed titular of Themiscyra and Auxiliary Bishop of New York, March 9, 1904, and was consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, by Cardinal Farley. At the same time Cardinal Farley appointed the new Bishop irremovable pastor of St. Stephen's Church where he remained in charge until his appointment to the see of Albany, which was made July 5, 1915. He was striking in his personal appearance, being one of the tallest priests in the diocese, and among his characteristics, perhaps the most pronounced, were his humility, his simplicity of manner, and his never-failing modesty. He was noted for his love of the poor, his sympathy

with all kinds and conditions of men, a never-ending patience, a quietness of poise, his democracy, indefatigability as a worker, a fearless bluntness in condemning what he believed to be wrong, his earnestness and his regularity of life.

The Rev. Denis Paul O'Neil.

The Rev. Denis Paul O'Neil, chaplain at the Clason Point Military Academy, died on March 6, 1918, aged sixty years. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1883 at Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md., and the first years of his priesthood were spent as an assistant priest at St. Rose's on Cannon at Port Jervis, and at Rosebank. In 1892 Father O'Neil was assigned as an assistant at St. Raymond's Church, Westchester, and to act as chaplain of the Catholic Protectory at Westchester. That was the beginning of a long career as chaplain of Catholic institutions which continued until his death. He spent ten years as chaplain at the Protectory, six years at the Orphan Asylum at Kingsbridge and ten years at Clason Point. Father O'Neil's long service as chaplain gave him unusual opportunity for study and historical research. His leisure hours were spent in searching for records relating to the early years of the Church. In 1898 he published a brochure *History of St. Raymond's Church, Westchester, New York.*

The Rev. James J. Higgins, D.D.

The Rev. Dr. James J. Higgins, rector of St. Ann's Church, President of Cathedral College, the preparatory Seminary, and Secretary of the Catholic Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, was killed in an automobile accident on October 1, 1918. Dr. Higgins was born in Brooklyn, August 27, 1875, and made his classical and early theological studies there at St. John's College and Seminary. In 1898 he entered the American College, Rome, where he was ordained, and in 1902 received his degree of Doctor of Divinity. On his return to Brooklyn he

was assigned as an assistant to St. Augustine's parish, and later was transferred to St. Patrick's to look after the large Italian colony in that parish. He remained at St. Patrick's until July 2, 1904, when he was appointed rector of St. Rita's Church, Long Island City.

In April, 1916, he was appointed president of the preparatory Seminary. In September of the same year he was changed from the rectorship of St. Rita's to St. Ann's. In both of these positions he served with the same great ability as in all his previous appointments. As a member of the diocesan Charity Commission his special work was the supervision of all the child-caring institutions, homes, orphanages, etc. During his three years in this position he devoted much attention to child-care and child-welfare, and he attained a national reputation among the leaders in sociological work as a zealous and practical director of modern activities in the field. In addition to the above mentioned office he was executive secretary of the Catholic Guardian Society for Dependent and Delinquent Children; a member of the various Charity Conferences, City, State and National; a member of the Board of Directors of the Catholic Home Bureau; a member of the Board of Trustees of the Queens Borough Public Library, and secretary of the Long Island Relief Association.

John William Devoy.

John William Devoy, treasurer of the Brooklyn Public Library, and treasurer of the Andrew Carnegie Commission of Brooklyn for the construction of Carnegie libraries in the Borough, died suddenly of heart trouble at Watertown, N. Y., where he had been spending the summer, on August 18, 1918.

Mr. Devoy was born in New York City, on July 13, 1854, and had been a resident of Brooklyn for forty-five years. He was one of the oldest and best known Custom House brokers in the city, having been in the business for thirty-seven years.

He was most active and generous in his support of all worthy Catholic movements.

He was appointed in 1899 by Mayor Van Wyck as a member of the Brooklyn Public Library Board, and in 1900 was elected treasurer of the board. His services in spreading public libraries throughout the city were notable. Mr. Devoy was a trustee of the College of New Rochelle, and had served on many city commissions under various administrations. He was a member of the first Manhattan Bridge Commission, for acquiring land for the bridge terminal.

James A. Rooney.

James A. Rooney, a most industrious promoter of the study of Catholic American history, died at his residence in Brooklyn, New York, on July 13, 1918. Born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1842, he emigrated to Brooklyn when seven years old, received his elementary education in its schools and followed this training with a course at the College of Our Lady of Angels, now Niagara University. He was the last survivor of the class of 1860. A few years ago he received the LL.D. degree from Niagara, in recognition of his services to the Church and to Catholic journalism. He served with the 56th Brooklyn Volunteers during the Civil War and was always an active and enthusiastic G. A. R. man and well known among the veterans. After his college course he engaged in newspaper work, being employed on several New York and Brooklyn newspapers. He served as Long Island editor of the *Eagle* up until 1902, when he assumed charge of the Brooklyn Bureau of Complaints in the city government.

In 1912 he started the Bureau of Catholic Chronology and began the publication of the *Catholic Chronologist,* which he described as a "monthly record of memorable events in the history of the Church of America, with brief biographies, descriptions and reminiscences compiled from authoritative

sources." Each month he sent out a set of leaflets in which a daily diary of Catholic historical events was detailed for the use of students in schools and such papers as cared to print the list. It was well and carefully compiled, but though the price was only fifty cents a year, the enterprise received scant recognition. He abandoned it after two years' discouraging experience. He was an indefatigable reader of history and made a card index of every item he came across that he thought might be of interest. His collection at his death of these valuable indices had mounted up into the thousands.

Bryan Smith.

Mr. Bryan Smith, one of the pioneer Catholics of the parish of Our Lady of Grace, and for many years a leading merchant of Hoboken, New Jersey, died on December 19, 1918, in his eighty-fifth year. Mr. Smith was born in the County Meath, Ireland, and settled in Hoboken in 1851. The Rev. A. Cauvin began the organization of the Catholics in Hoboken about the same time and he found in Mr. Smith a tireless, efficient and most unselfish worker in all that went to the building up of the new parish. To the last day of his long and busy life this was the story to be told of Bryan Smith. He might be called the founder of St. Mary's Hospital and to its successful growth he gave the best years of his life. The City of Hoboken held him in the highest honor as one of its most useful and upright citizens.

Joseph E. Owens.

Joseph Eugene Owens, fifty-nine years old, a prominent Brooklyn lawyer, died suddenly on January 29, 1919, at 314 Garfield place. Mr. Owens was born in New York City on October 25, 1859, and was the son of the late John and Mary Dickson Owens. He was a graduate of Manhattan

College and the Columbia Law School. He at first practiced law in Manhattan, but later went to Brooklyn, where in the fall of 1892 he was appointed legal adviser to Bishop McDonnell. He served for several terms as Secretary of the Catholic Club.

JOSEPH FREY.

Joseph Frey died at his home in New York City on March 23, 1919. Mr. Frey was born at Altdorf, Baden, Germany, in 1854. He came to New York when he was ten years of age and was educated at the parochial school of the Most Holy Redeemer and at the public schools. He was the possessor of a fine singing voice and in his young manhood was a leader among singers. He also took an active part in the German American Catholic organizations and became President of the Central Verein and the National Central Society of German American Catholics. At the fifty-seventh annual convention of the Verein, held in Toledo, Ohio, on September 17, 1912, the Apostolic Delegate announced that the Holy Father had conferred the Order of Knight of St. Gregory on him in recognition of Mr. Frey's many years of labor in the cause of Catholicism in the United States, and in recognition of the splendid work of the Central Verein. In 1909 Mr. Frey led a large number of the members of the Central Verein on a pilgrimage to Rome, where they had an audience with the Pope. Before becoming President of the Central Verein, Mr. Frey had been President of the State League of New York, and remained Honorary President of that organization until his death. He was a director of the Leo House for German Emigrants, Vice-President of the American Federation of the Commercial Exchange Bank and a director of the German Exchange Bank. Mr. Frey introduced into this country and perfected the manufacture of materials for artificial flowers.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The history of the progress of the Church in Buffalo, New York, includes a number of instances of trouble with rebelling trustees and litigation over titles to property. One of these long-standing and vexatious contests has been formally ended by a legal decision, the particulars of which follow, as recorded in the Buffalo *Echo* of January 16, 1919.

The litigation begun ten years ago by the heirs of Louis LeCouteulx to gain possession of the property of St. Louis Church, Buffalo, was definitely ended last week by the decision of the Court of Appeals, sustaining the judgment of the lower courts in conveying title to the property in the congregation. Decisions favorable to the Church had been rendered by the Equity Branch of the Supreme Court in Erie County, and by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court at Rochester. In affirming the decision of these courts, the Court of Appeals has definitely disposed of the case, and its decision is binding and conclusive upon all parties concerned.

The action was commenced on July 7, 1909, by Henry Le Couteulx, Louis LeCouteulx and Emanuel Baron, all residing in France, against the Trustees of St. Louis Church as the legal representatives of the church congregation, the late Bishop James E. Quigley, and the late Bishop Charles H. Colton.

The object in bringing this suit was to have the courts of this State declare title and ownership of the property in and to the plaintiffs, who are descendants and heirs of the late Louis LeCouteulx, and to deprive the congregation of the property and eject it therefrom.

The history of the ownership and possession of the property, so far as the same was disclosed by the trial of the case, com-

mences with the earliest period of Buffalo. In 1829, the late Louis LeCouteulx was a prominent and highly respected citizen of the community. With a number of others of the Catholic residents of the village and its surrounding country, he met at odd times, at the homes of different Catholics to practice his religion as best he could. Occasionally, at long intervals, a traveling missionary would visit the locality and administer the rites of the Church, and such occasions were always attended by young and old. Thus by degrees the foundation of a Catholic congregation was laid by this body of Catholics. This continued for some period of time, probably for ten or more years, but as the neighborhood grew and the number of settlers increased, it became evident that something more definite and substantial in the way of a church congregation was desired, and for that purpose a place of worship was necessary.

Thus in 1829 Louis LeCouteulx, intending to do his share toward the establishment of a permanent church site and house of God, made and executed a deed of the premises on Main and Edward streets, upon which the present church building is now located, "for the sole and only use and purpose of a Roman Catholic Church and Cemetery and to the intent that a house of worship for that denomination of Christians may hereafter be erected thereon."

This deed also conveyed the property at the corner of Delaware avenue and Edward street, "for the sole and only use and purpose of the support of the ministry of the gospel in said church as may hereafter be erected on said first-mentioned premises" (meaning the Main street premises), the consideration specified in the deed being "in consideration of their (Louis LeCouteulx and wife) love of God and the veneration of said Louis for the holy Catholic religion." The above quotations are exactly as they are expressed in the deed.

Within a short time, the same body of Catholics who had been meeting at irregular intervals at the homes of different members,

took steps to erect a small log cabin church, and upon its completion, church services were conducted there and this continued for several years until the building of the brick church, destroyed by fire in 1885, and now continued in the present church.

Louis LeCouteulx was a member of this parish until the time of his death in 1842. None of his immediate family laid claim to the property. His son, Pierre Alphonse LeCouteulx, the grandfather of Henry LeCouteulx and Louis LeCouteulx, and great-grandfather of Emanuel Baron, who brought the action against the Church, expressly confirmed the donation made by his father. This occurred in the year 1851. Nothwithstanding these facts, the plaintiffs laid claim to the property and vigorously prosecuted the action through all courts of the State.

The contention of the plaintiffs and the grounds upon which the action was based may briefly be stated as a claim that the deed was void for want of sufficient legal consideration; that it was indefinite as to beneficiaries, and therefore void, and that at most it merely conveyed a life estate during the life of Bishop DuBois.

The defense interposed on behalf of the church congregation was in substance as follows:

First: That the deed of Louis LeCouteulx conveyed the property for the use and benefit of the body of Catholics above referred to and that under the laws of the State of New York, known as Religious Incorporation Law (Chapter 60, Laws of 1813), the Church Society or congregation became legally vested with the title to the property upon the incorporation of the congregation, which occurred in 1838.

Second: That the incorporated congregation of St. Louis Church, from the time of its incorporation to date, has been in actual possession and occupancy of all the property under claim of title and absolute ownership, and had improved the property by the erection of numerous buildings, including churches, and had expended large sums of money in so doing, and lastly, that

all the terms and conditions imposed by deed had been fully carried out. These were the questions involved and presented to the courts for consideration in this case.

The case was first tried before Justice Pooley in 1909 and the material part of his decision follows:

"1. That the defendant, the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Louis, is the owner in fee simple absolute of the premises described in the complaint.

"2. That the instrument aforesaid executed by Louis LeCouteulx and Jane Eliza, his wife, to John Dubois, under date of January 1, 1829, conveyed to the said John Dubois as Roman Catholic Bishop of New York, an estate in fee in the premises therein described upon conditions subsequent, all of which have been fully complied with.

"3. That said estate in fee in said John Dubois, as Roman Catholic Bishop of New York, vested in the defendant, the trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Louis, immediately upon the incorporation of that defendant in the year 1838.

"4. That the complaint should be dismissed."

This is now the final status of the case, and having been confirmed by the highest court of the State is binding and conclusive upon all the parties to the suit and forever sets at rest all the conflicting claims relating to the title of this church property.

Henry LeCouteulx and Louis LeCouteulx came here in 1909 from France to testify in the action. It is rumored they have since died.

The witnesses who testified on behalf of the Church Congregation were Frank J. Abel and Charles J. Fix, of the Board of Trustees, and also Mrs. Elizabeth Biesinger, George Feldman, Peter Paul, George F. Pfeiffer, the Rev. Martin Phillips, the Rev. Thomas J. Walsh, now Bishop of Trenton, Mrs. Mary Weber and Mrs. Mary A. Werich.

Of these witnesses, Mrs. Biesinger, Mrs. Weber, Mrs. Werich and Messrs. Feldman, Paul and Pfeiffer have died since giving

their testimony. Charles L. Feldman represented the Congregation in the action.

In connection with the decision of this suit the following letter, written by Bishop Dubois and reprinted by the *Echo,* from the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* (1830, Vol. IV, p. 449, sq.) is of special interest:

Rome, March 16, 1830.

Sir: I take advantage of some moments of leisure permitted me by my affairs in Rome, to communicate to you the details concerning my beloved diocese, which I had but hastily sketched on my journey to Lyon, where the entertainment, so full of kindness, that I received reminded me of the charity of the primitive Church.

I have read with the liveliest interest those annals of the Association of which the editor, Mr. P——, sent me a copy. I regret never to have seen any mention of the diocese of New York, one of the most important in the New World and one of the most worthy to excite the sympathy of an Association so nobly devoted to the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

During the visitation I made to one part of my diocese before my departure for Europe, I have traveled three thousand miles, or one thousand leagues, and alone, because I could not afford the expense necessary to have had a priest accompany me, and I have heard more than two thousand confessions.

At Buffalo, near the falls of Niagara, where a good pious Frenchman had donated a superb tract of land for building a church, I found seven to eight hundred Catholics, of French, Canadian, Swiss, Irish and other origins, instead of the fifty or sixty as I had been informed.

In spite of the fact that I do not know German, I was obliged to receive the confessions of more than two hundred Swiss who could understand neither English nor French. This I accomplished by means of an interpreter, but in a manner that this same interpreter was unable to know anything of the confessions

of these poor people. This is an expedient which necessity long since compelled me to invent, on these missions, when I encountered strangers or Indians whose language I could not understand. These good souls displayed inexpressible joy to have received the Sacraments.

I celebrated one solemn High Mass in the courthouse, more than eight hundred people, Protestants and Catholics, assisting. An altar had been set up on an elevated platform where the judges ordinarily sit. The presence of a bishop, the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, the large number of communions, the beauty and solemnity of the singing, the administration of rite of baptism which I conferred on thirty to forty persons, produced general emotion among the spectators; but that which most singularly impressed all minds was the blessing of the tract of land destined for the construction of a church and school.

At 4 o'clock p. m., the time I had fixed for the commencement of this ceremony, I found these good people, men, women and children, again assembled in this same courthouse where I vested myself in the pontifical robes; from thence, without my speaking to them, they massed themselves in column of fours to proceed to the cemetery, which is located about a mile and a half away. Four elderly men with white hair began the rosary in a loud voice in German; the assisting French, English and Germans recited the responses of the *Pater Noster* and Hail Mary each in his own tongue.

All the inhabitants of the town who were attracted to this ceremony were ranged in masses on both sides of the streets. The modesty, the recollection, the devotion which animated the faces of all these participants and chiefly these four aged ones, who led the march, furnished a most extraordinary spectacle for this Protestant population. The head of the procession had reached the cemetery when the end had scarcely left the courthouse. Arrived at the cemetery, these good Swiss chanted the Psalms and Litanies, set forth in the ritual for the blessing of a

cemetery, and we did not disperse until after the setting of the sun.

The next day, which was fixed for my departure, certain Catholics who had not been advised of my arrival, but from the report of those who had assisted at the ceremonies of the day before, came to find me. I could not refuse to hear several more confessions, to baptize some children and legitimate marriages.

Pardon these details, my dear sir. The heart pours out involuntarily that with which it is filled.

✠ John, Bishop of New York.

The courthouse referred to was on Washington street, Buffalo. The cemetery blessed by the Bishop occupied the site of the present Rectory and School of St. Louis' Church, Buffalo, but it was closed owing to city regulations. The old courthouse on Washington street was erected in 1816, and was taken down in 1876. The site is now occupied by the Public Library and extension of Broadway. In 1828 Father Badin visited Buffalo to minister to the Catholics of the town. He remained for six weeks as the guest of Mr. LeCouteulx. He celebrated Mass at the courthouse regularly during his sojourn in the town. Father Badin urged the Catholics to organize and form a congregation, and Mr. LeCouteulx started the good work by donating a site for church, school, priest house and cemetery. This led to the establishment of St. Louis' Church.

The number and activities of the Loyalists of 1776, and the number and part taken by the Irish in the Revolution are themes of constant controversy. Justice Russell, of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, who is a descendant of a Loyalist, recently wrote a letter to the New York *Times,* in which he characterized as "preposterous" a statement in a book by Beckles Wilson that "two-thirds of the entire population of America were Loyalists." In answer to Justice Russell, Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, of New York, who is one of the most painstaking and authoritative inves-

tigators in this important field of the nation's records, sent to the *Times* of January 19, 1919, this reply:

In the year 1779 a joint committee of the Lords and Commons met in the English Parliament for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the war. Two of the witnesses called before that committee were Joseph Galloway and General James Robertson. In answer to a question as to "the proportion of the Colonists who supported the present rebellion," Galloway testified: "I don't think one-fifth part have supported it"; and further, he said: "from the old attachment, and, I believe, an earnest desire to be united with this country (England), I venture to say that many more than four-fifths of the people prefer a union with Great Britain upon constitutional principles to that of independence." The Secretary of War introduced General Robertson to the committee as "the most competent witness to testify on American affairs" because of "his long experience and twenty-four years' residence in America and his high and deserved rank in the service," and in answer to a question by Lord George Germain, Robertson said: "More than two-thirds of the people would prefer the King's Government to the Congress' tyranny." A full account of the Galloway testimony can be seen in Rivington's *New York Gazette* of the months of September, October, and November, 1779, and the whole testimony, word for word, of both witnesses may be found in the *Parliamentary Register of Debates"* in the House of Commons (London, 1779), this being the official channel through which the Government published the evidence given at the inquiry.

Justice Russell will hardly contend that these men were not competent witnesses or that they were not in a position to know the disposition of the people on the question of separation from England. Galloway was particularly well qualified to testify, having been one of the leading lawyers in the Colonies and Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly for twelve years, and the opportunities he possessed of obtaining information, as shown by

his testimony, the facts stated by him, and the prominence with which his views were published made his "examination" a document of much importance at the time. And that this was not merely off-hand testimony is shown by Galloway's letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State, dated Philadelphia, January 31, and March 4, 1778, when he was Superintendent of Police of Philadelphia, in which he said that "four-fifths of the Colonists were opposed to the rebellion." I submit that testimony such as this should be considered "the last word on the subject," and that the ex-parte statements of historians on the point bear no weight whatever.

Justice Russell also refers to certain revolutionary patriots of South Carolina as "Scotch-Irish from Ulster." I beg to take exception to this racial description of these people, because there is no justification whatever for so describing the immigrants from Ireland who took so valiant a part in the achievement of our independence, not only in the Carolinas, but in all parts of the Colonies. Of course, I know it to be the general impression that the immigrants from Ireland in Colonial days were the "Scotch-Irish" element only, but there is indisputable evidence to the contrary. While no statistics were kept in those days showing the relative numbers of emigrants who left the various parts of Ireland, there is a means of determining the figures with reasonable accuracy, since in numerous cases the newspapers reported the number of immigrants arriving on the different ships. I have made a careful analysis of the Custom House records of the two chief ports of entry, New York and Philadelphia, and have also examined the newspapers during the twenty years preceding the Revolution, in addition to which the land and court records, the parish registers, the records of the offices of the Registrars of Wills and Deeds, and other similarly reliable sources, are of considerable aid in determining the approximate numerical strength of the various racial elements composing the population of the Colonies.

If the immigrants from Ireland were the so-called "Scotch-Irish," it would be natural to suppose that the vessels in which they came sailed from the ports of Ulster, and that, in view of the primitive traveling facilities of the time, the majority of the immigrants were from that section of Ireland. But, as a matter of fact, I find that the greatest number of vessels recorded as arriving from Ireland during the twenty years prior to the Revolution were from Cork and Dublin and other parts of Ireland where a "Scotch-Irishman" was as rare as an oasis in the most arid part of the Sahara. And, taking them all in all, I find that exactly 33 per cent. of the vessels sailed from Ulster ports and 67 per cent. from the other ports of Ireland.

To quote but one example of the large Irish emigrations before the Revolution, I find in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 11, 1773, an account from Dublin, stating that "upward of 18,000 people had left that port during the first six months of 1773 to settle in various parts of America," and at the New York Historical Society there is a letter from Charles Lee, afterward second in command of the Continental Army, to one Constantine Pope, of London, stating that in the year 1774 12,000 Irish immigrants had arrived in the Delaware River. Thus we see that during a period of eighteen months upward of 30,000 Irish immigrants settled in the American Colonies, none of whom are described as "Scotch-Irish." From the newspaper accounts of the number of "passengers and servants" arriving from Irish ports I have made an average of the numbers on each ship, and when I apply these figures to the total number of vessels from Ireland I find that approximately 33,600 came from the Province of Ulster and 88,400 from all other parts of Ireland during the period 1763 to 1774!

Having arrived at these figures, I examined the names on the muster-roll of the various bodies of men raised in defense of the Colonies, and in numerous cases also the enlistment papers which show the "countries of nativity" of the men.

From these sources I determined on a most conservative computation that 38 per cent. of the Revolutionary forces were either of Irish birth or were American-born sons of Irish immigrants! And the names clearly show that the majority were of old Irish stock. If, as is asserted by so many historians, the Scotch-Irish became such patriotic Americans and that they acquired their patriotism from the Scotch end of the hyphen, how do those historians account for the fact that the Scotch themselves steadfastly remained faithful to the Crown? And is it not a fact that Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence contained a reference to "the Scotch mercenaries" sent over to fight the Americans, but that it was stricken out in deference to the Scotch patriot, John Witherspoon?

THE GENERAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Society took place at Delmonico's on the evening of Monday, February 24, and was attended by a representative gathering of the members and their friends. President Stephen Farrelly presided, having with him on the platform Right Rev. Bishop P. J. Hayes, and Right Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney, V. G. In greeting the members Mr. Farrelly said:

The Society's year, in spite of all the drawbacks from the turmoil and confusion of the great international war, has been most satisfactory. Our membership has kept up to its usual standard, and our material prosperity, as will be seen from the official report, is also in no wise diminished. To do its part in the practical expression of national patriotism, $10,000 of the Society's funds have been invested in the war loans. The usual volume of historical papers was issued in the RECORDS AND STUDIES series and was received with general approval as a valuable and interesting addition to the library of American Catholic historical data. Owing to the general disruption of college courses by the training-camp program it was decided to suspended for the term the historical intercollegiate prize essay contest. The prize will again be offered, however, to be contested for during the next college term.

It is a source of much satisfaction to note the steady growth of the practical work of historical research and the preservation of Catholic records by our sister societies in the formation of which organizations our own example and assistance were no small factors. The recent publications of the new Chicago and the St. Louis Catholic historical societies, and the quarterly series issued under the auspices of the Catholic University, are the most substantial testimony that could be offered to the reality of the long-awaited awakening

of a widespread and practical movement to rescue the records of our past from oblivion, and to place them where they can be made use of at will by the student investigators of the future. A new volume of our own RECORDS AND STUDIES will be sent to the members shortly after this meeting, a formal report of which will be included in its contents.

We are saddened in our rejoicing over this otherwise pleasing outlook by the long list of valued associates who have passed from our ranks since our last meeting. It is headed by that ever enthusiastic and generous friend and worker in the cause, our honorary president, his Eminence Cardinal Farley. There never was a time in the long years of his association with the Society that it did not have his active, prompt and wholehearted help in any work it had undertaken. His presence here, at our last general meeting, under great personal stress, was one of the very last public appearances of his many-sided career. In praising the Society and its objects his Eminence told us "it arms Catholics against unjust and often ignorant attacks and in its historical facts and documents shows the great part played by the Catholic Church and its children in the development of this great Republic." With him have gone his Grace Archbishop Ireland, who as one of our founders presided at the very first meeting of the Society on December 9, 1884; and another staunch friend, the lamented Bishop Cusack of Albany. We also mourn the loss of James A. Rooney, an indefatigable worker in the fields of research, of the Rev. Dr. James J. Higgins, of John W. Devoy, Bryan Smith and Joseph E. Owens, all valued members whose companionship and encouragement we shall surely miss. We can rejoice, however, in the fact that the successor of the lamented Archbishop Ireland in the See of St. Paul, is one of our old and zealous members, Bishop Dowling, to whom we offer our congratulations.

The special program for this evening was to have included

an address by the Hon. David I. Walsh, former Governor of Massachusetts and United States Senator elect from that State, on "A Layman's Impressions of Catholic Conditions in the Far East." The arrival of President Wilson in Boston today, like many other things in the late war, has interfered with the program. Senator Walsh sends me the following telegram: "President Wilson's reception in Boston today prevented my making railroad connections for New York meeting. Regret exceedingly that I am obliged to disappoint you."

We regret his absence, because he is an able speaker, and he is very much taken up with this subject of the development of the Far East.

Bishop Hayes, however, has kindly consented to be with us for a few minutes this evening. I promised him if he would honor us by his presence we would greatly appreciate it and endeavor to fulfill our pledge to let him go early. Therefore, before proceeding with the regular business of the evening, I am going to ask the Bishop kindly to say a few words to us.

The audience greeted Bishop Hayes warmly and he said:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Society, I wish to say, of course, that I am taken somewhat by surprise to find myself ushered in as the speaker of the evening. I promised Mr. Farrelly, when he urged me to do so, that I would come, and show by my presence for a few moments how intensely interested I am in the great work of this Historical Society.

The engagement I have tonight is one of long standing; in fact, I made it nearly two or three months ago. I am going down to the Knights of Columbus celebration especially, as it has been connected with war work and I had become a Knight of Columbus during war time, and have been very closely associated with them in their splendid endeavors in the field. They have been writing a wonderful page of Catholic history there during the past year or more, which, of course, this Society will have to take cognizance of at a later

date. I feel, of course, that it is my duty to go down there and show by my presence how greatly concerned I am about their work.

It is very significant that there are those among us, especially you here tonight, who manifest an interest in the historical records of the activities of the Church, of churchmen, and of our splendid, devoted laymen, who have done all they could in their day to build up the Church of God in this great country.

Of course, it is a matter which appeals to the student. It is one that arrests the attention of those who have a special faculty for records, and who are interested in the things which have gone before; but after all we all add only to our own stature during a short life, and we add only to the stature of the nation, and to the stature, you might say, of the Church of God by our lives in their short day, but we all build up on what has gone before, and, we hope, those afterwards will come, in their time, to build up further unto the glory of God.

Now, it is wonderful what a record the Church has had in this country. But it is somewhat absurd that the curtain has been rung down upon it, as it were. It is the duty of intelligent Catholic men and women to lift that curtain, and to show those who come after us what is the reality of the historic Church in this country.

I was down in Georgia a short time ago, and going into a rectory there I was amazed to find, idly lying around and almost going to pieces, a journal written by Bishop England of Charleston. I turned over the volume, and there the old bishop described how he made his visits. He had gone down through those States on horseback.

I said to the priest: "This is a very valuable book; I am going to write, and I wish you would write to Mr. Farrelly, and call his attention to the circumstance of these records. Possibly they can be put in some permanent form and in some

safe place." I mention this merely to show the possibilities there are for opportunities of historic research in this country.

The war makes history, and the war has stirred up a spirit of research in regard to historical data and records. Only today there came to my desk a remarkable request from one of our chaplains in France. He writes to me, his bishop, and asks for $10,000. That is all he asks me for, and he says, "I want it quick." I thought he meant he wanted it for the erection of a hospital or the invention of a new gun that I hoped would never go off, or something else of that sort; but what do you think it was? He says: "I want to have $10,000. Now is my chance; I want to stay here; I am going over the battlefields here"—he was giving me directions right from the very beginning; it was not the bishop giving directions to the chaplain, but the chaplain giving directions to the bishop—"and you must get permission for me and a couple more Catholic priests to go over the battlefields. We will take photographs and write down memoranda for permanent record, and get the most valuable first-hand information. It is going to cost $10,000; you will have to send me $10,000."

He went on in a practical way, and so roused my enthusiasm for the project that before I got through with the letter I said, I am going out and get the $10,000 for him; and all because of the historical data he is going to collect. I am going to bring the matter up before the War Council of Bishops; and I am sure that after they hear my plea, they will allow that $10,000, to enable him to go and do work of that kind. That is a real inspiration and a wonderful thing.

I have been very exacting from the very beginning with respect to our chaplains. I have been most insistent that they should write me letters at least once a month; and I have not absolved a chaplain from that duty, even if he is in the trenches. I have not absolved from that duty those who have been on the battlefield. I have insisted that they must write

We are gathering that data together. It may have seemed very trying to them at times to be urged so much, when things were so serious, but I said, my dear chaplains, it is your duty to make records of the things that are done, because what you are doing now is not only for the body and soul at present, but probably the day will come when we are dead and gone, when somebody will rise up and attack us as to our part in the war. We have no guarantee, the Church has never had a guarantee during its existence, that it will not be misrepresented.

Our Lord warned us that we were going to be misrepresented, as He was misrepresented, but He did not tell us to sit idly by and take the misrepresentation. Therefore it is our duty to prepare for it, and it is for that reason that I have been so particular about that data. Although our chaplains have only gotten to the other side within a year, you would be amazed to see the amount of valuable data and material I have. Some of the letters are just fascinating. There the priest tells the story intelligently, and patriotically, but through all breathes his love of the soul, his love for those boys, his love of country, his love for America. And it is wonderful to read it. Therefore I feel that any movement of this kind should be encouraged; and as far as I am able, I am only too delighted to do what I can in any capacity whatsoever to see this splendid Society prosper and grow, and continue to get out the valuable books you do.

A society such as this is not one of great numbers; that is not what you are looking for so much, but you want the enthusiastic few, the intelligent few, those who are touched with sacred fire of research, of doing all things to the glory of God; those who feel that they ought, as the Holy Spirit was, moved to inspire the pen in the hands of the great prophets and Apostles of Holy Scripture, to put in writing the wonderful things of God that the war can speak to them,

that generations to come might find it a source of divine light and divine inspiration.

So we, in our day, are here, living not only for our own day, but for the days to come; and hence it is the duty of every ardent, intelligent Catholic man and woman to put on record the things done by the Church of God just as the angels in Heaven are always, every day of our lives, recording the things we do for the glory of God and the honor and beauty of the Church of God here on earth. I thank you very much for listening to these few rambling remarks.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, it is hard for us to realize what a friend we have in Bishop Hayes. He has been a more ardent worker for our cause than we have heretofore suspected; and we appreciate it most highly. Bishop Hayes touched upon the experiences of Bishop England in his traveling days. Some forty years ago I spent some time in Savannah, and there met Father O'Neil, who had been Vicar-General to Bishop Verot. Father O'Neil and Bishop England traveled together on mission work through North Carolina and South Carolina and Tennessee years before that. They stopped at cabins where the natives had never seen a Catholic priest or heard of one except as something monstrous and they would not allow the priests in their cabins. Finally Father O'Neil, who never traveled without his violin, sat down outside the cabin and gave them some old plantation melodies. This inspired enough confidence to gain an entrance.

In the course of the conversation they asked Bishop England if he were married. The bishop said yes. "Have you a large family?" He said: "Yes, I have, over 1,000. But that is not enough. That is one of the things that brings me here. I want to make my family still larger. A thousand is not enough for one man to take care of." His facetiousness and humor seemed to melt them and overcome their prejudices;

and the visitors were treated to the best the house could afford.

We appreciate what the Bishop has done for us this evening by coming here, and not only entertaining but delighting us, because in him we find we have an ardent supporter. We have many friends, who say, "God bless you," and "Go on with your work;" but few among them actively assist in the work as he is doing.

The work of research must be a fascinating subject to those who have sufficient time to devote to it. The more you consider it the more absorbed you become. The rich treasures that lie hidden in this country relating to our Church are not half discovered. We feel that there is ample room for our Society. It must have the support not only of the Church but of the laity, as well as the clergy and the hierarchy, to do what we should do. Therefore, we trust, if there is any one here this evening who is not a member of the Historical Society, he will become so at once. Bishop Hayes sets the example and tells us how important it is to encourage this work.

Bishop Hayes: I am going to tell you of an incident that occurred on the train while we were going through Tennessee a short time ago. I heard a story that indicates the way the Catholic Church is misunderstood by people who are not Catholics. The story was of a colonel and a young lieutenant, an intelligent man, a graduate of a Western university, who said he would not go into a Catholic Church because the Romish priests were there and would cast a spell over him that he would have to pay a lot of money to get rid of.

"Are you serious?" asked the colonel, and the young lieutenant trembled and said, "I was never more serious in my life."

In the woods of South Carolina where these officers were stationed there were 34,000 troops with 600 Catholics among them. There were four priests there and the Knights of

Columbus had one little building in which all the recreation concerts and everything else Catholic had to be concentrated. Everybody was invited to go there, and finally this lieutenant went because the colonel came to him again and said: "Were you joking with me, sir, the other night?" "No, sir, I was serious," he answered. Then the colonel, turned and remarked: "I want to tell you, I am a Catholic; I am a very ardent Catholic. I want no apology from a subordinate officer; I am not going to take any notice of what you said, but next Friday you come to the Knights of Columbus hut as my guest;" and he walked away.

The young lieutenant went with much trepidation. When he got inside the hut he did not see anything very pious, for he was witnessing a very hot boxing match. After that you could not keep him out of the Knights of Columbus building. Afterwards he went to the colonel and said: "I am not going to apologize, for I feel ashamed of myself. I thought I was an intelligent man, but, colonel, I believed what I told you that night, and everybody in the town I was brought up in believes that of the Catholic Church."

When I told that story to a priest down in Chattanooga he said: "If the things that were done in this section of the country by the priests could only be written as a story for non-Catholic people to read it would help religion. A girl came in from the wilds of Tennessee to marry a Catholic soldier. She is a non-Catholic, and was timid about coming in. I suppose you feel embarrassed about meeting a Catholic priest, I asked her, for you have no doubt heard terrible stories about the Catholic Church. 'No, sir,' she replied. 'I never heard of the Catholic Church until last week.'"

The Chairman: The Bishop has told us some interesting stories of the great work in a big field for missionary labors, principally in the southern part of this country. What a vast amount of historic data can be found there of the

struggles of the early Catholic missionaries and the results of their work. I myself was traveling some twenty miles outside of Huntsville, Alabama, and we stopped at a cabin. There were three children, with father and mother, and not one of those five had ever been inside of a church or a schoolhouse. So you see what notions they had of education or religion. There is ample room for missionary work of the most serious kind right on our own frontiers—almost at our own doors, you might say.

The Chairman then introduced the Right Reverend Mgr. Mooney as one who had done everything to show his appreciation of the work of the Society.

I think, said Mgr. Mooney, that the words of Bishop Hayes have been ample to give you the encouragement Mr. Farrelly refers to. As for my own connection with the Historical Society, it is true that since its origin I have been interested in it as a member.

This Society has for its purpose the preservation of the fast disappearing records of the early history of the Church in this country. It is a most entrancing story, but the trouble is that so few of us know it. It is possible, of course, as the bishop intimated, that at this time a new impression is made upon this matter by the occurrences of the war and by the changes that will inevitably come over not only this country, but the world as a consequence of the war. The Church has had so much to do and so many parts to fill in regard to the world and in this country that even those will be enlarged, and she will have to face new conditions and will have to bring new instrumentalities to meet the changed condition that confronts us.

Of course, the saying is already trite that we will never have the world again as it was before the war. That has struck nearly everybody who has given the slightest thought to it, that the world cannot be the same in the future as it

was in the past, that there must be changes. Some of those changes we have already seen. We see them taking place in every phase of life; and especially will this change be manifest in the attitude of those outside the Church towards the Church, when they have learned anything of the Church. It behooves us Catholics to be up and doing about what might be called constructive work with which to meet the requirements of the days that are to come and of the days that are upon us.

We know that these changes and these developments cannot take place without affecting the Church, affecting at least the human side of the Church, affecting the interests of the Church, in every nation. Therefore Catholics should prepare themselves in order to meet the conditions that are arising from hour to hour. The Catholic should be armed with knowledge of his own Church, knowledge of the past of the Church, historical knowledge; he should know the Church's big place in the formation of civilization, and especially how it was instrumental in the rise of the principles of Catholic Christianity, and how the foundation of the American Republic is based upon them, and that in proportion as the Republic has proved true to those Catholic principles so has it prospered. And this has been so on the historical side, not because of the knowledge that has been possessed of the Church either by her children or by outsiders, but by the very force of circumstances, the evolution of time.

How important it is then that we Catholics should familiarize ourselves with every phase of the Church's existence in these United States from the beginning. It is part of our armor. It is part of the attitude going to make up the position we Catholics must take with regard to the coming troubles that can be safely solved only in one way if the future of society and the future of our country, are to be assured, namely, according to the truths and the principles which we

know that the Church has in her possession, but which we ourselves sometimes are so unconscious of, so ignorant of, simply because we are not equipped with that knowledge.

Now, of course, as far as the historical records themselves are concerned, this Society does its part, and that is a very essential part. The man who thoroughly and even enthusiastically—because enthusiasm has its place here as in most other instances—is acquainted with them—is the one best fitted, best prepared, to act the part of the American Catholic. The knowledge of what the Church has done, the knowledge of what our sons, her children have done, the knowledge of what has gone into the makeup not merely of the Constitution of the country, but of the very life and development of America, all that is a portion and a part not merely of those who are especially interested perhaps in the mere history as such, but of those who are interested in the Church itself. So I may be pardoned for saying that a deeper, a more thorough, a broader and wider knowledge of our Mother Church, is really a part of the duty, a part of the call that is made upon us Catholics today. We will not be able to grasp our whole duty as such, unless we take that also into account. It is because of this the Society has done so well in this direction, and the prospect is that it will be able to do more. There should be a great encouragement, not only to those who have stood by the Society; who have supported it; who, sometimes with very little encouragement have been faithful, that it will be a new inspiration, a new inducement, and an urgency for them to continue, and to try to rise equal to the glorious opportunities we face in this country, and that in the doing of it feel they are acting the part of intelligent American Catholics.

Dr. Condé B. Pallen was also introduced, and made a few remarks complimenting the Society on the work it was accomplishing.

The regular order of business was then taken up. The Secretary, Mr. Peter Condon, read the minutes of the last general meeting, which were approved. The report of the Treasurer, Mr. Henry F. Herbermann, showed the finances to be in a satisfactory condition. At the election which followed the officers were rechosen for another term by the casting of a single ballot and the meeting adjourned, after the election to membership of the Library of St. Louis University, Mrs. John W. Devoy and the Rev. B. McEntegart.

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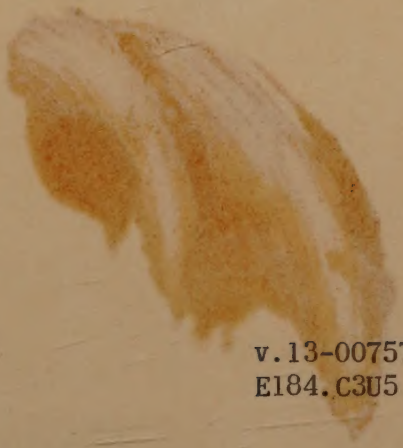

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